Buckley for Mayor? (p. 498)

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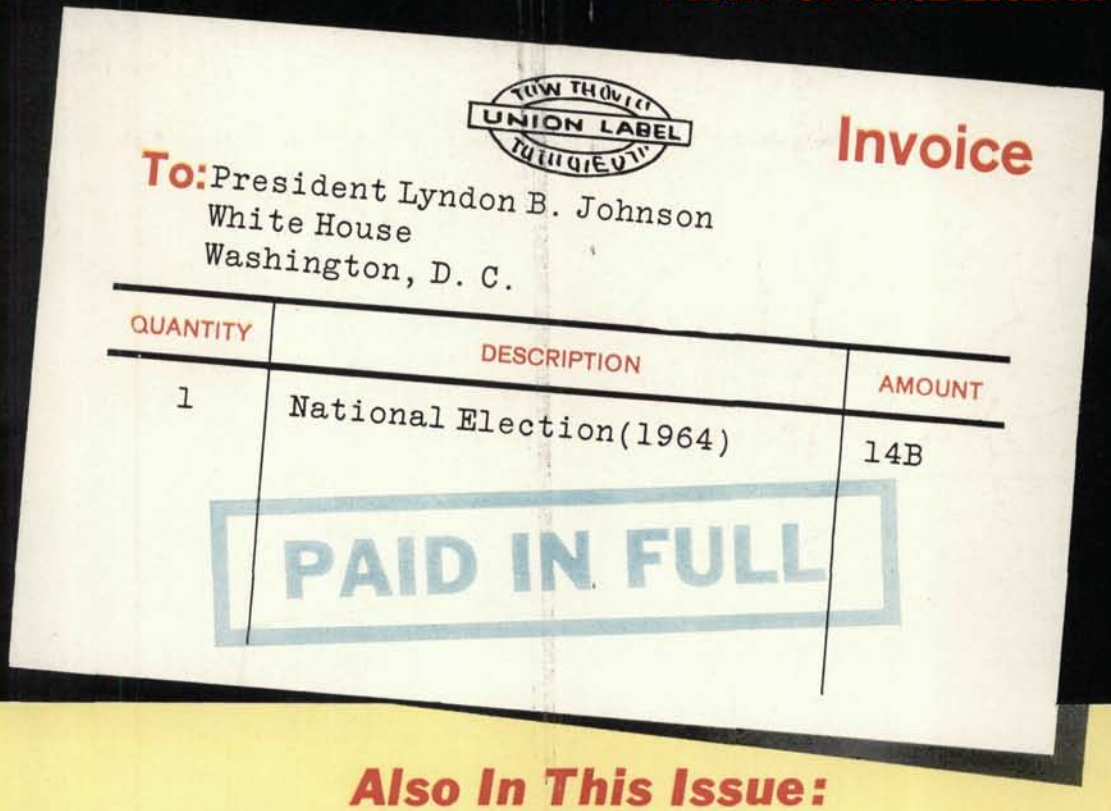
JUNE 15, 1965

NATIONAL REVIEW

A Journal of Fact and Opinion

Must the American Workingman Pay Off LBJ's Political Debts?

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN



Also In This Issue:

THE DOPE ON YEMEN, NIGER, EUROPEAN ANTI-AMERICANISM ♦ FREEMAN ON BENTON ♦ EVANS, DAVENPORT, BURNHAM, HODGENS ♦ WHILE YOU'RE UP GET ME A FEDERAL GRANT BY JOHANNES EFF

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NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly by National Review, Inc., at 45 Gracey St., Meriden, Conn. (second class postage paid at Meriden, Conn.). © National Review, Inc. 1965. All manuscripts, letters, subscription orders, changes of address and undeliverable copies should be sent to:

EDITORIAL AND CIRCULATION OFFICES
National Review
150 East 35th St., New York, N.Y. 10016
Telephone OREgon 9-7330

RATES: $16.00 a year ($9.00 for the 36-page issues, and $7.00 for the 8-page issues published on the alternate weeks). In all cases, add $1.00 for Canada, $2.00 for other foreign subscriptions.

The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage, or better, a stamped, self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

In This Issue . . .

➔ **John Chamberlain** discusses the call by the President to repeal Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. Mr. Chamberlain has just published a Business History of the United States, *The Enterprising Americans.* He is widely known in his several capacities, as author, critic, and syndicated columnist. During the thirties he was daily book reviewer for the *New York Times.* During the forties, chief editorial writer for *Life* magazine. During the fifties he moved up the ladder to senior editor of NATIONAL REVIEW. In 1961, he was designated by King Features as successor to the columnist George Sokolsky, and keeps busy writing five columns a week for hundreds of newspapers. . . . **"Johannes Eff"** ("as long as you're up get me a Federal Grant") is, of course, a professor of philosophy. . . . **Edward J. Bell** has just graduated from Columbia University. He gives an eyewitness account of the chaotic stirrings there that resulted in a spasm of lawlessness a few weeks ago. The press last week noted with awe the courage of Columbia's valedictorian, classmate to Mr. Bell, who thought to reproach his classmates for putting political agitation above education (Boo! Hiss!). . . . Professor **Lawrence Henry Gipson,** the distinguished historian of early America who teaches at Lehigh University, writes devotedly about his brother, the late James Gipson, founder and president of the Caxton Press in Caldwell, Idaho. . . . **Gilbert Comte,** a French journalist, specialist in African affairs, a contributor to *Le Monde* and *Nation Française,* and winner, in 1963, of the *Prix Pierre Mille* for the best articles appearing on Africa during the year, gives the background of an attempted assassination. . . . **Stanko Guldesca,** who writes about the botch Nasser and we have made in Yemen, is also a professor of history—at Fayetteville College in North Carolina.

➔ **Wm. Buckley** writes a political program available —free, gratis—to anyone who wants to run for mayor of New York, or for that matter mayor of any big city, and lose, but make points in Heaven. First come, first served. . . . **James Burnham** examines the effect of teach-ins on our stake in Vietnam. . . . **Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn** returns to a subject he has studied for years: the nature and the cause of anti-Americanism in Europe. He has much to say that is interesting. Mr. K-L will be lecturing in the United States this fall. He is the most engaging and profound analyst. For inquiries, write to him at Lans, Tyrol, Austria.

➔ **M. Stanton Evans,** editor of the *Indianapolis News,* reviews the latest book by Professor **Henry Kissinger,** *The Troubled Partnership.* . . . **Guy Davenport** of Louisville University reviews three novels, in ascending order of merit. . . . Professor **Roger Freeman** of the Hoover Institution tears to shreds a gullible essay by William Benton published in his *Encyclopedia Britannica.* . . . And **Richard Hodgens** brings us up to date on the flicks. ➔

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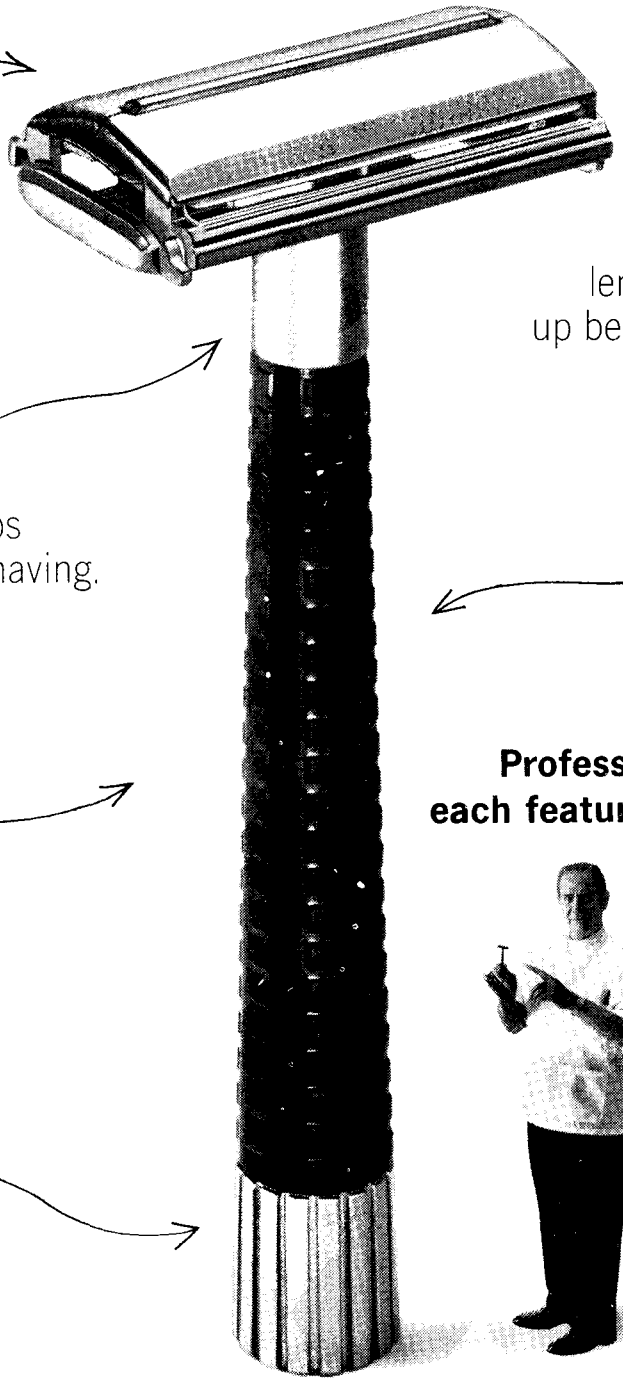

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TO THE EDITOR

Raves

I have just finished your June 1 issue: what a great magazine you put out! Wilhelmsen's "Grammar of the Dialogue," mordant, accurate, ironic, humorous. The editorial on the "pay-off" for Lindsay's "gallantry" in opposing Goldwater. Harold O. J. Brown's attack on Tillich & Co., putting "testify" back into "pro-testant." Burnham on the Liberals cashing in their demand notes after their liaison with LBJ. Lastly, Francis Russell's "The Men of Vimy" and their "bent heads"—such a moving account of how all of life becomes past and irretrievable. Such good, old ecumenical truths of human life.

New York, N.Y. JOHN MURRAY CUDDIHY

Congratulations on your article and book review by Harold O. J. Brown [June 1]. Let's have more. My wife and I are Presbyterians who have long been dissatisfied with the politicking Presbyterians and assemblies of our Church.

Murrysville, Penna. E. STRICKLAND

I have just received my first copy of NATIONAL REVIEW, and while I found all the articles of great interest and importance, I am impelled to write and say that Francis Russell's review of *The Greatest Story Told* [May 18] is worth the price of the subscription. Occasionally I get to feeling gloomily that satire, that priceless weapon, is dead; only on Wednesdays and Fridays when I pick up the *Times* (the only times I ever do) to read Mr. Morrie Ryskind's column am I reassured that we still have at least one superb satirist left to us. Now I discover we have another.

Glendale, Calif. ELIZABETH LININGTON

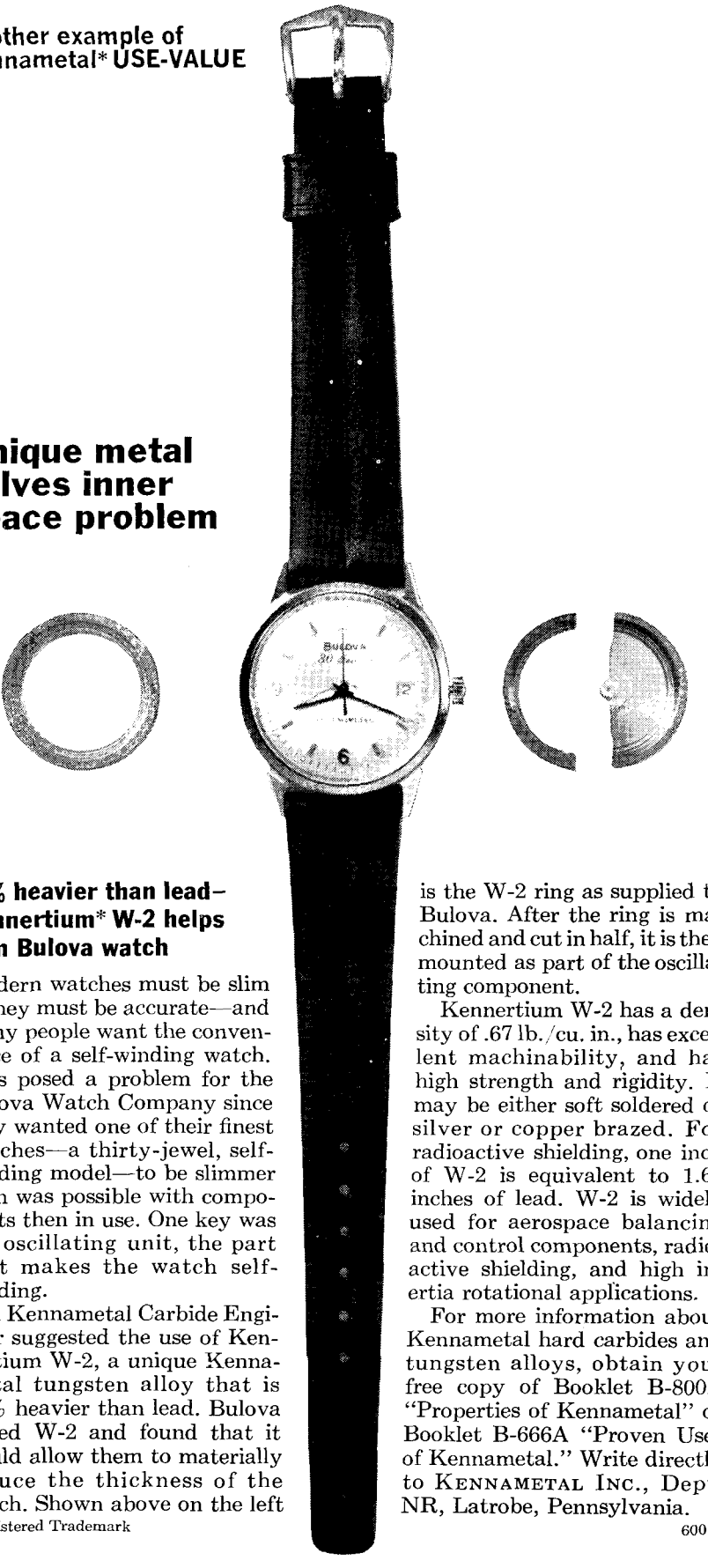
The Real FSM

I have recently seen a copy of a publication called *Western Destiny,* with which a Frank Meyer is associated. Several people have asked me if this is the Frank Meyer of NATIONAL REVIEW. I am sure it is not, since the publication in question seems of a dubious nature. I think you should know, however, that this damaging confusion exists.

New York, N.Y. JAMES EGAN

Our Frank Meyer never uses the short form "Frank Meyer" in his writing or in any formal capacity, but always signs "Frank S. Meyer." FSM has no connection with Western Destiny, *which we have never seen. What, by the way, is the Western destiny?* —ED.

Another example of Kennametal* USE-VALUE



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Modern watches must be slim—they must be accurate—and many people want the convenience of a self-winding watch. This posed a problem for the Bulova Watch Company since they wanted one of their finest watches—a thirty-jewel, self-winding model—to be slimmer than was possible with components then in use. One key was the oscillating unit, the part that makes the watch self-winding.

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By THE HON. WINSTON S. CHURCHILL, published in the NATIONAL REPUBLIC, November, 1957

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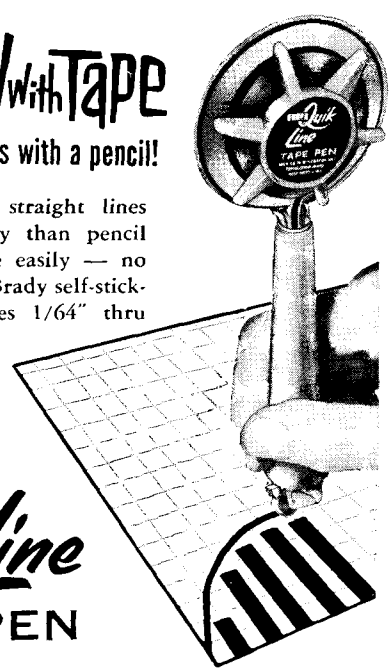

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Wages of Welfarism

Anthony Lejeune's article on the "cumulative, accelerating process" of welfarism in Great Britain [May 18] poses the question of just how close the U.S. is to the point of no return, when the political and economic system mechanically reinforces the growth of welfarism. Some roughly calculated statistics may provide an idea of where we stand. In 1961 some twelve million people received benefits from Old Age, Survivor's and Disability Insurance (OASDI). In 1965 the total should be closer to fifteen or sixteen million. There are perhaps twenty million OASDI participants within ten years of retirement. Since these two groups will pay little or nothing of the increased costs, they have a selfish interest in any increase in Social Security benefits. If we assume this interest also sways the wives and husbands not covered by OASDI, we arrive at a special-interest group (mostly eligible voters) numbering on the order of 40 to 50 million. Can such a bloc be stopped?

New Haven, Conn. DUNCAN BREMER

Ornithology

I was reading James Burnham's article in the May 18 issue of NATIONAL REVIEW when my eye struck the phrase, "hawks, doves and sparrows." I'm not exactly sure who the sparrows are—are they the left or the middle? If they are the middle, I think we should give them a new name: "the mockingbirds." First they mock the hawks, then they mock the doves, and they have no cry of their own.

Durham, N.C. LESLIE GREY

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Rallying 'Round

Let's stop carping. Let's get the fatted calf onto the barbecue and crack open the champagne. Let's give Lyndon Johnson the support he needs so much.

Hollywood, Calif. NAME WITHHELD BY REQUEST

Edward R. Murrow

The bullseye report on Edward R. Murrow [May 18] was another *NR* breath of fresh air.

North Miami, Fla. L. J. RAABE

Your editorial comment on the death of Edward R. Murrow notes that most obituary writers mentioned his courage in facing up to Sen. McCarthy.

In an effort to demean this stance, you note that "everybody was doing it, or at least everybody who counts." The fact is "everybody" was NOT doing it in 1954 and anyone who did was winding up bloodied and bowed.

Perth Amboy, N.J. ALVIN B. LEBAR

Like who? —ED.

NR on Catholicism

Only one word for your May 4 spread, "What in the Name of God Is Going On in the Catholic Church?" The word? Why, "great" of course.

Bronx, N.Y. ROBERT TUEM BULL

Your symposium was noteworthy. In fact, I even noted mention of the Supreme Being in several of your articles on the Church.

As a Catholic, one who shares some of the hope for moderation expressed in some of the articles, I sincerely feel that the crying need of moderation is for a "Syllabus of Truths" rather than one of "Errors."

In answer to your question: The One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, the largest body of practicing believers in the world, has been trying hard to find a proper, orderly way to join with other "People of God" in responding to his Love. For the Love of God, please do not forget that.

New York, N.Y. ALBERT GIORDANO, JR.

"It is also the time when California's Father DuBay wants to form a priests' union. . . ." "On the Present Position of Catholics" by Garry Wills, NATIONAL REVIEW, May 4.

To the tune of *Union Maid*:

O, there once was a union priest,
Who wasn't cowed the least,
By tales of Hell with a sulphur smell
And a paper Apocalyptic Beast.

This union priest was wise,
To the tricks of Curia spies,
With his insights he led the fights
And always organized the guys.

CHORUS

O, you can't fool me, I'm stickin' to the union,
That *Ramparts* union, that Hans Küng union,
O, you can't fool me, I'm stickin' to the union,
That Chardin *jardin*, till the day I die.

Acapulco, Mexico J. MARSHALL TUCK

The undersigned wish to announce that a Catholic philosophical society is now in the process of formation. Its objectives and plan of activities, about which some of the articles in NATIONAL REVIEW's May 4 issue may give an idea to those interested, will be announced soon via various news media.

Washington, D.C. L. BRENT BOZELL
THOMAS MOLNAR
FRANCIS WILSON

Shriven

Just for the record, I am not "itching to get out" of the anti-poverty war, nor is its failure imminent ["Focus on Washington," April 20].

To the contrary, thanks to the readiness of thousands of communities all over the country and hundreds of thousands of volunteers, the anti-poverty program is already on its way to success. It's a rare program that has reached more poor people more quickly than any peacetime program in recent history.

Washington, D.C. SARGENT SHRIVER
Director
Office of Economic Opportunity

Whalen on Revisionism

Although I appreciate Richard Whalen's wizened irony and his evident pleasure in taking "a minority view" ["Fuel for Revisionism," April 20], it must be said that he overstates the obscurity of his case. The revisionist point of view is not only accessible, but actually unavoidable for even a high school student such as myself writing a paper on Pearl Harbor.

The first books I ran across in my research were R. A. Theobald's *The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor* and F. R. Sanborn's *Design for War: A Study of Secret Power Politics*. Indeed, it was a while before I became aware that there are a number of evidently knowledgeable people who do not think that FDR deliberately let Japan attack Pearl Harbor.

New York, N.Y. DANIEL SHINE

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The WEEK

● *Item.* Calvert's Whiskey calls back $30,000 worth of advertising because an Indian civil rights group objects to the use of a warbonneted chief and the word "firewater." *Item.* The NAACP threatens a boycott if the Chrysler Pavilion at the World's Fair doesn't do something about its Bil Baird puppet show, which has four purple pistons singing a parody of "Dry Bones," which goes: "Dem nuts, dem bolts, dem pistons . . ." *Solution*: Change the "dems" to "damns." Change the firewater to grape juice. Change the purple pistons to purple cows. Change the purple cows to pink elephants. Change the Indian to Aunt Jemima. Change Aunt Jemima to Aunt Jeremiah. Change tomahawk to Uncle Thomas Hawk. Change boycott to mancott. Never give up.

● GOP Liberals attending the biennial convention of the Young Republican National Federation in Miami Beach June 14-18 may really have to scrounge for their crumbs of comfort. In 1963 the YRs elected Donald E. "Buzz" Lukens, an avowed Goldwater fan, as their chairman in a contest so wild and woolly that only *The Star Spangled Banner* could restore order. This time the leading contender for the chairmanship —Kansas State Senator Thomas Van Sickle, 27—is not merely a Goldwater supporter; he held down a key job in the famous Goldwater command-post trailer at San Francisco's Cow Palace last July, while his fiancée was serving as chief receptionist at Goldwater's 15th-floor headquarters in the Mark Hopkins. Worse yet, if worse be possible, his only visible opposition—North Carolina YR Chairman David Flaherty, 35—insists that he too is a conservative, and recently nailed down the support of the notoriously gung-ho California delegation by endorsing the Liberty Amendment to abolish the income tax. This maneuver understandably dismayed various Liberal delegations, largely from the Northeast, who have pitched tent in Flaherty's camp on the theory that *anybody* would be better than Van Sickle. What they will do now is uncertain; that it will matter, unlikely.

● The Conservative Party of New York will enter a mayoralty candidate of its own in the fall elections, and thus at least do something to break up the *Gemütlichkeit* building up around John Lindsay. It is not known who he will be, but there is no particular hurry since it is not until August 10 that the designating petitions need to be filed. There are many qualified candidates, not least among them the two principal figures in the Party, Messrs. Daniel Mahoney and Kieran O'Doherty, both of them practicing lawyers and engaging public figures. Not inconceivably, the Conservative Party can draw 200,000 votes. Not inconceivably, that will be more than the difference between what Lindsay gets and what Lindsay wants. The principal objective of the Conservative Party is to compel the Republican Party to show a little respect for the traditional principles of the Republican Party. Meanwhile, John Lindsay seeks to avoid identification as a Republican, which is okay by a lot of Republicans.

● Professor Hans Morgenthau's hyperactive role as a protester against our policy in Vietnam is embarrassing many of his friends, and may even be embarrassing to himself, who is not used to the kind of self-exposure he is submitting to or to the company he finds himself keeping (he was, it is reliably reported, distressed to see a photograph of himself standing next to Linus Pauling; and we cannot believe he looks forward to sharing the Madison Square Garden platform with the infantile leftist, Joan Baez). Morgenthau is a fine scholar and a first-rate dialectician. His Asiatic policies are heavily conditioned by his adamant Europe-Firstism—much as the politics of Dean Acheson were. Then too, in 1960-61, Morgenthau went to Harvard as a visiting professor, expecting appointment to a new chair of government. McGeorge Bundy, then dean, nixed it—and may thereby have lit a fuse that is now exploding in anti-Johnson (and anti-Bundy) rallies around the country.

● The state visit of Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip to West Germany was notable for what did not happen. No dirty little child-wrecks made a nuisance of themselves in Germany waving banners saying Queen Go Home, or Remember Dresden. Even more remarkable, no dirty little Bertrand Russell waifs uglified England's green and pleasant land by waving the counterpart banner, Queen Stay Home, or Remember Dachau. Two nations, tattooed with the wounds of centuries, have transcended their history, at least for the moment. The longer the moment lasts, the greater the triumph of civilization over the carking politics of vengeance, and the greater the tribute to a gentlewoman and her salty consort, who have reminded us once again that there is a place for monarchy.

● Britain's House of Commons, deeply disturbed by recent revelations of homosexuality in high places, voted last week, 178 to 159, to kill a bill that would have permitted the use of secret signals at the bridge table between consenting males over the age of 21.

● Donald Bruce, on behalf of the American Conservative Union, has called on the President to stiffen our position in Santo Domingo (see p. 495). "The

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Communist-controlled rebels in Santo Domingo," the former congressman said, "have liquidated a significant number of the civilian police and have armed between 10,000 and 20,000 hoodlums. To have meaning, any settlement must include the total surrender of arms by the rebels and continued military policing pending the rebuilding of an effective civilian police establishment in Santo Domingo." The ACU, meanwhile, prepares to release a devastating study pointing to the inadvisability of repealing 14(b). The analysis done for the ACU is by Professor Sylvester Petro of New York University, a prominent student of labor law. Copies will be available from the ACU, 53 D St., S.E., Washington, D.C.

● The International Brigade rides again in a new movie made up of film clips of the Spanish Civil War, *To Die in Madrid,* produced in France ("A beautiful and noble work of art, as painful as a sob, and yet a warning for the man of our time"—*L'Humanité,* Paris Communist daily), and dolled up for American release with the cultured voices of John Gielgud and Irene Worth. Like most current propaganda movies (Felix Greene's *China!,* Robert Cohen's *Three Faces of Cuba*) this one gives you remarkably little to look at ("The eye of war," as some general said, "is soon bloodshot") but a lot to listen to. John Gielgud reads Unamuno's speech at the University of Salamanca. Irene Worth reads La Pasionaria's farewell to the I.B. As painful as a sob.

● Short essay on the reputability of higher education, by Ohio State University professor James F. Fullington: "If a student can't hear a Communist's views as told by a reputable Communist, how is he to understand Communism?"

● We note with pride, and relief, the emergence of the Vietnam Defense Committee, originated at Stanford, established at Santa Clara, Foothill, Berkeley, and Georgetown; incipient at Harvard, MIT, Penn, Yale, George Washington, Amherst, and UCLA. With no funds or staff (except volunteers), VDC enters the field against such formations as Students for a Democratic Society (60 paid staff members) and the May 2 Movement (three national publications). The Committee welcomes both Liberals and conservatives pledging support to "a continuation of U.S. policy designed to foster conditions under which the South Vietnamese people, free from coercion from any source, may determine their own national destiny." Address: P.O. Box 3585, Stanford, Calif. 94305. Local campuses please copy.

● President Johnson has ordered our embassies overseas to serve domestic U.S. wine, not that furrin stuff, in an effort to ease our payments deficit. This amounts to a veiled attack on the Conspiracy Theory of History. Obviously: any State Department that consumes wine in such quantity that its purchases of wine are a significant factor in a deficit of three billion is too besotted to indulge in a conspiracy. It's just one big Foggy Bottom.

● Sick to your stomach? Mad? Disgusted? Sure the youth of this country is going to Hell? That their professors are well en route there? Want to do something about it? Okay. Here's your chance. If you support President Johnson's firm stand in South Vietnam, join the People's Emergency Committee to Defend Freedom Against Communist Aggression. It has been organized by parents and close relatives of American servicemen killed in Vietnam and Laos. The purpose of the Committee is to place ads in as many papers as it can, saying, very simply: "We, the undersigned, agree with you, Mr. President, that the defense of freedom in Southeast Asia is necessary to the security of and freedom of our own country and to the future of freedom everywhere." Just that, in essence. Anyone interested in going on the record, publicly, for LBJ and against the defeatniks on this one issue can do so by sending the People's Emergency Committee (79 Madison Avenue, New York 10016) exactly ten bucks. All the money raised will go toward paying for full-page ads on which the name of every subscriber will be listed. And a copy of the ad will be sent to every subscriber.

● Struggling to close that barn door, University of California officials have drawn up a welter of proposals, studies, surveys and reports, some of them sensible, all of them hoping to avert massive student disorders like the one that convulsed the Berkeley campus last winter. The Chancellor has a code for the Regents, the Regents have a code for the Students, the Faculty, heavily pro-Student, has a code for everybody; but the Students (*i.e.,* the Free Student Union, formerly the Free Speech Movement), who have studiously taken no part in official remedial efforts, are already far away and running hard. In August there'll be a national "Free Student Conference" down at dear ole Berkeley, Bettina Aptheker & Co. presiding, the aim of which will be to consolidate a national professional student class ready to mount demonstrations, strikes, etc., for causes both local and nationwide. Significantly, the FSU "bill of rights" eliminates all roles played in student affairs by all constituted bodies except faculty.

● DON'T SHOOT, THEY'RE OURS Department: From the *Montreal Star,* May 21: "Immigration Minister Nicholson, with a certain pride, told the Commons yesterday how it was that five U.S. demonstrators missed the planned demonstration against storage of nuclear

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warheads at the Comox RCAF base. . . . They were turned back at the border by immigration officers after certain details of their pasts had been revealed. One of them, said Mr. Nicholson, had served five years in the U.S. for throwing a seven-year-old girl to her death from a roof-top. A second had been in jail for being a public nuisance, and was certified mentally and morally unfit for military service in the United States. A third had been in jail for carrying concealed weapons and was an admitted user of marijuana. A fourth had only $10 on his person and was considered likely to become a public charge. The fifth confessed he did not actually know the purpose of the trip when he started out on it."

● A long shot nag named Rocky Fella finished out of the money in the ninth race at Yonkers Raceway the other night, just as hip New York bettors figured.

NATO's End

It has become a routine procedure of Gaullist diplomacy to pull the rug from under the feet of international conferees just as they are about to sit down at the negotiating table. Two months ago the French turned the Vienna conference on color-TV into a farce by announcing, 48 hours beforehand, that they had come to an agreement with Moscow concerning the very issue that was supposed to be the topic of negotiation. Similarly on May 20, the day before the opening of the meeting of NATO Defense Ministers, French governmental sources released news that rendered pointless nine-tenths of the projected deliberations. De Gaulle had decided, it was revealed, not to participate in next year's NATO exercise. In other words: the French armed forces are no longer a functioning part of NATO.

"Let's stop being mealy-mouthed and say bluntly that those who oppose preferential treatment for the Less Developed Disadvantaged, the Morally Unskilled, the Decreasingly Youthful, the Scholastically Demure, the Ethnically Introspective, the Sexually Original, the Productively Disinclined and the Caught-in-the-Act/Prejudged/Obviously Railroaded Third Offender— are bigoted, benighted and backward!"

This is, of course, merely one incident in a sequence consistently pointing in the direction of Out. This time the French motivate their refusal to participate on what they hold to be fundamental disagreement with the strategic assumption of the 1966 exercise: namely, the McNamara concept of "phased response" to an attack on Europe, as against French insistence on an immediate all-out nuclear reply. But the detailed merits of the strategic dispute are secondary. It is by now clear that de Gaulle has decided to break up NATO, or drastically revise its structure; and this he can do, because an alliance requires a continuing consensus among all the major allies. Secretary McNamara's proposal, at the conference, for a four or five nation committee (U.S., Britain, France, West Germany, perhaps one other) to discuss revision of common nuclear strategy was merely shrimp whistling. Seven years ago France declared herself for replacement of U.S.-British predominance by a three-nation directorate (U.S.-Britain-France) to concert not only European but global policy. Perhaps that might have worked, but Washington vetoed it out of hand; and in any case that proposal is long over the dam. De Gaulle now demands and takes, not a global or Atlantic, but an independent policy for France, based militarily not on a jointly but an independently controlled nuclear arm. He will not subordinate French policy and French arms to any supra-national entity, though he might conceivably come to bilateral understanding nation-by-nation within the framework of joint interests.

This is the reality, and it will prove best to face it now rather than three years from now, at the end of NATO's statutory twenty years, when de Gaulle will formally renounce the NATO treaty and France's obligations pledged under its terms.

All Power to the Soviets!

It is by now evident to all serious persons that the War on Poverty has little to do with poverty but a lot to do with money and power. The appropriation for the new Office of Economic Opportunity, starting at $1.5 billion and headed for the stars, is the juiciest

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Focus on WASHINGTON

Piecing together the official and unofficial reports, it becomes possible to get a pretty good look at the Administration's handling of the Dominican crisis. The White House first smelled trouble when a high-ranking State Department official rubbed his hands in glee at the thought of a pro-Bosch rebellion. President Johnson thereupon studied the disjointed CIA report that spoke of the presence of known Communists in key positions in the rebel movement. Johnson turned to the FBI for its opinion. Within 48 hours the FBI supplied him with independent corroboration of almost every detail in the CIA report. Johnson summoned Dean Rusk and told him he'd refuse to be the patsy for another Castroite coup. Johnson immediately took a hand in designing the U.S. counter-insurgency plan, which was to hurl a wedge of U.S. troops at the rebel-held territory, split the rebel forces, and pin them down in isolated pockets where the Junta could pick them off one by one. Rusk objected vehemently. Johnson told him that the plan was set and it was his job to make it look good. The key man in the energetic policy was U.S. Ambassador W. Tapley ("Tap") Bennett, who buttressed Johnson's determination at more than one critical moment. (Bennett, for his services, lost points with Rusk, but was firmly supported by Thomas Mann—whom the Left, wrong for once, had identified as the villain in the piece.) Bennett established extremely effective communications with the Junta. But the beginning of the end of the hard phase was signaled when solid contact with the rebels was made through the good offices of a well-known expert on Latin America who writes regularly for a major U.S. newspaper. The expert was soon replaced by an official representative of the State Department's soft wing, former Ambassador (to Santo Domingo) John Bartlow Martin. The shift to a soft policy was the work of Washington attorney Abe Fortas, Johnson's crony.

◆ To some extent Johnson was persuaded to swing into action on the repeal of 14(b) because of the unexpectedly staunch opposition to repeal put up by House GOP leader Jerry Ford. Stung by the bitter criticism of his me-too management in recent months, Ford decided to take a stand on the repeal question. Most House Republicans fear he has taken the wrong stand at the wrong time (politically speaking). Ford announced his eternal opposition to repeal at just about the moment when supporters of repeal had enough votes to carry the day. Ford didn't attempt to get the prior support of Mel Laird and Charles Goodell (his lieutenants in charge of GOP Right and Left). And Ford has not yet coordinated GOP policy and tactics with Robert Griffin (Mich.), co-author of the Landrum-Griffin bill and the key Republican on Frank Thompson's (D., N.J.) special subcommittee on labor, which will shape the legislation. Griffin, tough and realistic, would relax his opposition to repeal if the bill included strict regulation of union contributions to political campaigns. (Griffin harasses the opposition, also, by calling for a strong anti-discrimination clause, but Thompson and Adam Clayton Powell have dealt civil rights out of the repeal game; that problem will be handled in an amendment to last year's Civil Rights Act.) Unfortunately the GOP campaign on right-to-work looks very much like the fiascos that tumbled some good men out of office—William Knowland, William Jenner, John Bricker. Will Jerry Ford be repealed in turn?

◆ The investigation of the Bobby Baker case is largely completed and the black eye went to Sen. John Williams (R., Del.), who had the audacity to bring up the matter in the first place. In the Senate Rules Committee report, which at this writing is still unreleased, Williams is insulted in language which adds up to the "most damnable attempt at character assassination ever witnessed in the Senate," in the Senator's own words. The report was drafted by Democratic Counsel Lennox McLendon, who devoted most of his energies over the past two years to discrediting Williams and the witnesses and documents he produced. To most observers, Williams made several very telling points, which McLendon could not or would not rebut. But, learning the devious ways of the big city, McLendon, a self-styled backcountry boy, bowed out with a flourish: he drafted the report, showed it to a hungry team of Washington columnists, who promptly leaked it to the rest of the country, and then settled down to re-write the report amid the strident exchange of charge and countercharge. While John Williams paced the Senate floor challenging the Democratic majority to repeat its charges to his face, Bobby Baker was reported to be presiding over a flourishing vending machine business (which does business only with government contractors), and for which he received a confidential security clearance in October of last year, one full year after he had resigned under fire as a Senate employee.

—CATO

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pork barrel since Santa Claus, and the activities of all poverty fighters up to the present have been concentrated on the battle over who gets what. As the lines sift out, there are two major claimants for what remains after Washington takes its cut: the existing local governments—controlled in most big cities by the Democratic machines—and ad hoc "community councils" or boards including, beside some appointees of the local governments, representatives of foundations, private charities, churches and social service organizations, civil rights organizations and "the poor themselves" (the last two categories in practice almost entirely Negro). This "community council" set-up, with varying proportions of the constituent ele-

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ments, is winning out in many cities, aided by a confused clause in the anti-poverty law.

No one seems yet to have noticed that a community council of this sort, endowed with a measure of sovereignty (implemented here by control over substantial public funds), is, precisely, what the Russians call a "soviet." The word "soviet" means simply "council." Local soviets of different makeups, independent of the regular governmental hierarchy, existed in pre-revolutionary Russia. It was in the 1905 revolution that the Bolsheviks first realized the soviets' revolutionary role, when in several cities soviets of persons chosen by workers, soldiers, peasants, shopkeepers, etc., assumed temporary governmental powers. In 1917 the Bolsheviks, unable to control the constitutional bodies, won a commanding position in several of the key local soviets that flourished under the crisis conditions. The Bolsheviks then seized control of the country by bringing about a transfer of power from the old institutions and the Constituent Assembly to the soviets, under the slogan, "All Power to the Soviets!"

We do not suggest that the United States is on the eve of The Revolution because Adam Clayton Powell can euchre a dozen of his henchmen into the 62-member New York Council Against Poverty. But great oaks from little etceteras grow. There is no place in our system for assigning sovereign functions to bodies selected according to class or other discriminatory criteria, even when the class in question is allegedly "the poor." (In practice, of course, it will not be the poor who get "elected" to the councils, but the activists who use the poor as a political base.) According to American doctrine, our constitutional governing bodies represent *all* citizens, irrespective of sex, color, race, religion *or* pocketbook. It is surely worth noting that prominent among the New York council's members (including its chairman) are many of those persons who have been running Mobilization for Youth, a pre-council that considered rent strikes, picketing, sit-downs, employment of Communists on its staff and, reportedly, active participation by some of its personnel in New York's race riots, to be appropriate activities in carrying out its assigned mission of combatting poverty and delinquency. ("Community action," rhapsodized Fred Powledge in the *New York Times*, more wisely than he knew, "means, fundamentally, giving people a means of fighting City Hall.") We may be certain that the revolutionaries of all varieties among us—and they are more numerous and more able than it is presently fashionable to recognize—are studying, these days, the promising revolutionary potential of Sargent Shriver's soviets.

Sleep Softly, Myth

In a genial, rambling, and self-satisfied romp on the triumph of the Keynesian revolution (*New York Times Book Review*, May 16), John Kenneth Galbraith pauses to pin a medal, for services rendered, on Lauchlin Currie, "a former Harvard instructor who was director of research and later an economic aide to Roosevelt (and" [the parenthesis falls like a careless raindrop] "later still a prominent victim of McCarthyite persecution)."

The triumph of Keynes is certainly no greater than the triumph of the McCarthy legend. As Keynes grows, so economic problems tend to go away. As the McCarthy myth grows, so history is sweetly reordered, and the old disloyalties set straight. McCarthy has become the eponym for the harassment of innocent people. Although McCarthy's anti-Communist career did not begin until February 11, 1950, his spirit is retrospectively responsible for the persecution of Lauchlin Currie, who appeared, on August 13, 1948, along with Harry Dexter White, before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. . . .

Currie's testimony that morning consisted largely of "I do not recall." He denied he had ever been a

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Caribbean Blind Alley

Santo Domingo, June 1

History will define the U.S. intervention in Santo Domingo as an epic struggle between Washington's Softs and Hards. There is now only one remaining obstacle to the victory of the Softs: their policy is so out of touch with local realities that it may simply evaporate.

Intervention was ordered on the basis of hard fact: what began on April 24 as a military coup by disgruntled officers was quickly transformed into a revolutionary crisis by radical leftists, most of them linked to Havana, Moscow and Peking. The landing of U.S. troops prevented a seizure of power by the revolutionaries at that juncture, but today those same U.S. troops are being used to shield those same revolutionaries.

By the first week of May, the Caamaño rebel government, with its Communist infra-structure, was falling apart. Its leaders knew they had no military chance. They switched to the political front, and were granted multiple reprieves by the OAS mission (Mora), the UN mission (Mayobre) and the special U.S. mission (Bundy), sealed by the military protection of the U.S. troops.

The Communists knew from the start that a direct military victory was impossible. They snatched all available arms, pledged support to Caamaño and got the organizational reins into their hands. They let Caamaño and his opportunist associates—like Hector Aristy—take the limelight, and moved discreetly into administrative posts. Any knowledgeable visitor to the Copello Building where rebel headquarters is located can watch them advising Caamaño and his cabinet ministers, bringing news, suggesting military and political stratagems. As the frustrated U.S. embassy, military and CIA know, the Communists now flourish at the vice minister and bureau chief level.

Much as in the Cuban precedent, the foreign press has played a key role in keeping the Caamaño government alive. Even while the pages of *La Nacion*, principal rebel newspaper, were vilifying the U.S. troops and ambassador, its editorials were praising U.S. newspapermen and offering them free hotel accommodations in the rebel zone. On occasion (as on May 23) *La Nacion* merely pirates articles from the *New York Times*.

The rebel government in its circumscribed fortress, with its potent political formula of "constitutionalism" and its international claque, daily expands its bureaucratic and military façade. Much of this is sham, but what is real is the fact that its military cadres are by now *committed*. From their standpoint they cannot enter any U.S.-imposed government that would allow any member of the loyalist military forces to have command over them.

General Imbert's record, like that of nearly all members of Santo Domingo's chaotically divided upper and middle classes, is not untainted. (Actually, the people's choice—the choice of the peasants, workers, urban masses—would be Joaquín Balaguer, the Supreme Court Justice who headed the caretaker government after the assassination of Trujillo. He is almost alone in having no charge against his honesty, administrative ability, general decency and distinction. But Washington and the post-Trujillo Dominican politicians rule him out automatically because of his link with the Trujillo era. But whatever Imbert's flaws, the Junta's strength has grown quickly throughout the country, fueled not only by provincial support but, ironically, by its firm stand against the U.S. policy which, on no other grounds than obsessive ideology, would turn the country over to a "democratic Left" with no standing, competence, or authority, and no chance to keep the power from sliding over to the waiting revolutionaries. And the loyalist military cadres are also deeply committed. They too cannot conceive surviving under a government that placed a "Constitutionalist" over them.

Therefore most observers here believe that compromise is no longer possible. The destruction or exile of a significant portion of either the "Constitutionalist" or the loyalist military would seem to be a condition of a workable regime. But U.S. policy is committed to preventing such a solution. Some Dominicans—as the placards in the pro-Imbert demonstrations indicate—are beginning to wonder whether matters may not end up in a Korean-Laotian type of settlement.

Tragically—and unnecessarily—the U.S. has managed to alienate all Dominican factions. The U.S. has lost not so much "friendship"—which is politically irrelevant—as *respect*, which is the most important diplomatic element in dealing with Latins. The Left has always been anti-Yanqui on principle, but now contempt has been added from the ease with which it has been able to manipulate the Washington Softs to neutralize 20,000 U.S. troops. The Center is cynical at having been pushed arbitrarily about and consulted by U.S. officials only to be told who is in or out. The Right is bitter and disillusioned. At first promised U.S. support in its effort to restore peace and order to a country ravaged by civil war, the Right now finds Washington subverting it daily with subtle and not-so-subtle political and economic maneuvers. Most insulting of all was the four-letter word used by one of McGeorge Bundy's team, in a negotiating session with Imbert, to describe the Junta's "Government of National Reconstruction."

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Communist or Soviet espionage agent or that he had passed secret information to the Communists. Sworn testimony by Elizabeth Bentley and Whittaker Chambers flatly contradicted Currie's. They testified that while a government official, and in particular while acting as one of President Roosevelt's six wartime administrative assistants, Currie had furnished confidential information to the Soviet espionage cell headed by Treasury official Nathan Gregory Silvermaster. Currie did remember having known Silvermaster and having several times visited his home; and documents on hand showed he had successfully intervened in Silvermaster's behalf after G-2 had named him (Silvermaster) a security risk. Along with Harry Dexter White, Currie furnished Silvermaster with a reference in connection with a government job transfer application. Currie's own assistant had been Michael Greenberg, a British Communist. (A few years after the war Greenberg surfaced in Communist China.) Currie served twice as special envoy to China for FDR. He arranged Henry Wallace's famous trip to Siberia, on which he was accompanied by Owen Lattimore, John Carter Vincent, and John N. Hazard. Currie also had a hand in Lattimore's appointment as special envoy to Chiang, and provided Lattimore with the use of his own White House office, stationery, and telephone. Along with Alger Hiss, Currie was a member of a committee of five that issued the invitations to two of the Institute of Pacific Relations' international conferences during the period when IPR, according to a unanimous finding of the Senate Judiciary Committee, "was a vehicle used by the Communists to orientate American Far Eastern policies toward Communist objectives." Currie was, in a word, the IPR's principal liaison with the wartime White House. When Frederick Vanderbilt Field, chief of the Communist cell in the IPR staff (and later part of the Communist crowd that settled in Mexico), dropped the American Peace Mobilization (which until June 1941 he had headed to keep the U.S. out of the imperialist war), it was his old friend Lauchlin Currie whom he asked to help him get an Air Force commission. And it was Currie who in October 1942 arranged the conference among himself, Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles, Communist Party Secretary Earl Browder, and Communist Party Chairman Robert Minor, out of which issued a communiqué that was delightedly reproduced in the Communist press the world over as a major boost to Communist prestige.

When the Senate's Internal Security Subcommittee asked Currie to testify in the IPR hearings, a couple of years after the 1948 morning, he was too busy to oblige. He had lammed it to Bogotá, Colombia, where he thrives as an economic consultant. Nor did he choose to come back in November 1953, when then Attorney General Herbert Brownell testified under oath that on November 8, 1945, a top secret letter from the FBI to the White House had included his name among persons being "utilized by principals" in the Communist espionage apparatus.

On December 28, 1955, Currie—a Canadian by birth—automatically lost his U.S. citizenship after five continuous years' absence from our midst.

Joseph Clark Grew, RIP

One who knew Joseph Clark Grew and who had worked closely with him for ten years said of him, "He was the kind of man of whom every cliché is true." Groton, Harvard '02, a career that started when he caught Teddy Roosevelt's eye. "A patrician diplomat of the old school," the *New York Times* called him. The credentials were impeccable.

Early in the century he was serving at the courts of the Czars and the Habsburgs. From 1931 to 1941 he was the American Ambassador to Japan. He warned, clearly and insistently, and far ahead of the event, of the threat of Japanese militarism. The influential Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Red China to the United Nations, launched in 1953, was founded at his Washington, D.C. residence. But he deserves to be remembered, and gratefully, not for the formal diplomatic trappings which he bore so easily, not even for the zeal for the craft of diplomacy which led him to become known as the father of the career service. He deserves the regard of his countrymen because he was a sterling patriot, and a first-rate human being.

Notes and Asides

Some of the figures elicited by a recent survey of our readers (to those of you who filled out the forms, whoever you are, our thanks for cooperating so handsomely): 85 per cent subscribe to three or more magazines . . . The favorite magazine of 57 per cent is NATIONAL REVIEW (*merci messieurs-dames, merci de la part des employés*), next highest is *U.S. News and World Report* (11 per cent); #3 is *Time* . . . "In general, how much of NATIONAL REVIEW do you read?" Cover to cover 73 per cent. "What is your religion?" Protestant 53 per cent; Catholic 31 per cent; Jewish 3.2 per cent; None 8 per cent; Other 3 per cent . . . Protestant denominations: Episcopalian 19 per cent; Presbyterian 19 per cent; Baptist 10 per cent; Methodist 10 per cent; Lutheran 8 per cent; Congregationalist 3 per cent . . . "What is your political affiliation?" Republican, 74 per cent.

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On the Right

Mayor, Anyone?

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

If you live in a large city and desire to run for mayor, on what platform, pray, will you run? What has John Lindsay of New York decided to run on? One metropolitan newspaper has carefully and enthusiastically recorded his attributes, the most significant of which, some observers have noted, is the brilliance of his teeth. (Yes, that was a qualification solemnly remarked by one major newspaper.) When the press mulcted from Candidate Lindsay the specific ideas he had for New York, he temporarily deserted his Spenglerian observations about the decline and fall of the City and said that a) he feared the desertion of New York by private industry; b) he thought something ought to be done about the flourishing narcotics trade here; and c) he did not believe that sufficient effort had been made to save the Brooklyn Navy Yard. Back to the teeth.

Buckley

There is, however, the phenomenon, well remarked by shrewd observers, that goes under the name of the "crisis of the American city." Such a crisis does exist. New York—and other major cities—become, increasingly, unpleasant places to live in. Unpleasant and costly. It is unpleasant to have to pay a high cost for unpleasantness. So what might one do?

Let us look at the situation without reference—just this one time—to what is politically practical. Any New York pol will tell you that you may not run for mayor if you propose to alienate any important voting bloc. All right. You and I are not in fact running for mayor. But suppose we were? What might we—assuming, like Cincinnatus, that we were to put down our plowshares and come to the aid of the City—suggest? And forgetting, for the moment, the legal technicalities involved (New York City, after all, is governed by laws passed in Albany and in Washington). Let us think big.

The Platform

1. Crime. Teenagers caught and convicted of felonies will be either a) put in jail, or b) released in the recognizance of their parents or guardians, who will be legally responsible for recurrent offenses. Said parents would have the right to surrender authority over fractious children by invoking probationary sentences. Communities block-wide, or greater, which, like the Jewish association that calls itself The Maccabbees and has financed its own watchmen to patrol its own area in a crime-ridden quarter of New York, will be given *pro tanto* relief in their property taxes, sufficient to pay the local police bills. New Yorkers will, in a word, be encouraged to look after their own protection, relieving the municipal police force of an almost impossible job.

2. Narcotics. Anti-narcotic laws for adults should be repealed, and the English system substituted: you can get narcotics for the drug store price of them—provided you come in with a doctor's prescription. Said doctor will renew the addict's prescription or not depending on whether he submits to medical attention. Anyone caught selling drugs to a minor will be subject to fifteen years in prison. Take the profit away from narcotics peddling, and the narcotic-peddlers go out of business.

3. Race. Petition the state and federal governments for a suspension of property and income taxes for all Negro or Puerto Rican entrepreneurs who establish business in those areas that have, by federal decree, been denominated as depressed areas. Let Negro entrepreneurs — using white capital and their own — move into such areas with the kind of economic encouragement that has done so much for Puerto Rico in its renowned Operation Bootstrap.

4. Traffic. No commercial vehicle may load or unload traffic between 8:00 A.M. and 6:00 P.M. Double parkers will be fined $10; parkers with diplomatic plates (they are expected to know better), $100. And if Jimmy Hoffa disagrees, why, disagree with *him*. Or get out of the mayoralty race.

5. Labor Unions. Pass legislation imposing criminal penalities on any labor union organization that seeks to prevent any New Yorker from making his own arrangements, on mutually agreeable terms, with any painter, construction worker, plumber, electrician, or elevator operator.

6. Gambling. Legalize it. Anybody who wants to bet anything with anybody may do so, and the prospective mayor wishes every single bettor the very best of luck, and did you notice the workout yesterday of Lucky Sadler who is running in the 5th at Roosevelt on Election Day?

7. Taxis. Anybody without a police record may operate any car as a taxi.

8. Welfare. Anyone receiving welfare payments who is not a mother looking after children fourteen years or younger, or invalided, will report for duty at 8:00 A.M. every morning for street cleaning and general prettification work. No workee, no dolee.

9. Schools. No one will be required to go to any school outside the plausible geographical limits of his residence. School drop-outs under the age of fourteen will be sent to special vocational schools, whose administrators will be especially trained. They will be vested with extraordinary disciplinary powers, and charged with a) teaching literacy, and b) giving vocational training. Successful graduates of one year's experience with such schools will be qualified to re-enter the public schools.

10. The minimum wage law will not apply to children.

Nunc pro Tunc

11. Any election returns suggesting that the mayoralty candidate running on this program has been defeated will be challenged in the courts.

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The Third World War

The Weakest Front

JAMES BURNHAM

Many of those who advocate our military withdrawal from Vietnam follow the example of Walter Lippmann and Hans Morgenthau in stressing a plausible, seemingly hard-headed strategic argument. This makes no appeal to pacifist, defeatist or revolutionary principles — though its proponents of course reach the same practical conclusion as the pacifists, defeatists and revolutionaries. On the one hand, the reasoning goes, our national interest and security are not at stake in Southeast Asia. On the other, we cannot in any case control Southeast Asian developments; military intervention is bound to be costly, harmful and, in the long run, unsuccessful.

Burnham

Still, accepting the argument at face value, let us consider the major premise—that the national interest and security are not at stake in Southeast Asia. (If they are not, there's no reason to fight there even if we can win.) This premise is based on a superficial, too mechanistic idea of the national interest. Even in geopolitical terms, a Communist takeover in Southeast Asia—an unavoidable result of our withdrawal—would be a strategic catastrophe. Its consequence would be the loss of all bases and friendly ports in the western Pacific and South Seas, and the fold-back of our basic line of defense to our own Pacific coast. This would in turn mean ceding to the Communist powers domination of the entire region (including the Indian subcontinent). On a global scale our defense would be left with little except the inflexible "strategic deterrent"—and Prof. Morgenthau, like so many other withdrawers, has ruled that out under the Better Red than Dead axiom.

But whatever the truth about geographical and military consequences, these are not the sole determinants of the national interest and security. Our national interest is at stake in Southeast Asia because we—that is, the nation acting through its legitimate magistrates—have staked it. In the abstract I have no interest in that roulette wheel in Monte Carlo. But when I put my chips on the line, then my interest is at stake there, and when the wheel has started to spin, I can no longer cancel my interest. I am going to win or lose, no matter how foolish you may prove me to have been for having made the bet.

No Exit

The present conflict in Vietnam has become, by our acts, a major test of our will. There is no longer any way at all to avoid that test—the wheel is spinning, with our stake on the board. This is the way every government in the world thinks of it, and every political person; and this is one of those instances when thinking is enough to make it so. We shall either meet the test—defeat the Vietcong and prevent Communist control of South Vietnam—or flunk it. And everyone will know which, no matter what formulas are typed up. To flunk would be to suffer a staggering defeat with immense, inescapable and cumulative global repercussions, precisely because it would prove to everyone that our will was the weaker. Maybe we didn't need to jump into the water, but now that we're in, it's either sink or swim.

There is another crucial question at issue in the Vietnam conflict: Can the U.S. deal with the revolutionary "wars of liberation" that are the characteristic challenge of our epoch? These revolutionary wars are deceptive in appearance. In reality they are neither civil nor local wars. They are episodes in a continuing international struggle, and they are fought internationally: as is obvious from the ever-present privileged sanctuaries beyond the local borders, the money, supplies and men that flow in from a dozen countries, the active political accompaniment in the UN and the world press, the global propaganda operations, etc. As the Communists understand it, the decisive front in these wars is the domestic front of the "imperialist power," and experience seems to bear out this estimate.

What the Teach-ins Teach

In the present Vietnam conflict the decisive front is in the U.S., not in Southeast Asia; and on the U.S. front the war is going badly. Whatever their motive, the attacks on military intervention and the demand for speedy withdrawal, cessation of air strikes, etc. all have the same net meaning: throw up the test and accept the defeat. The dominant view among the nation's intellectual elite —most conspicuously, among the university faculties—is in this practical sense pro-defeat. Those who have this view, whether or not a numerical majority, hold the initiative and are running the opinion show: as sufficiently witness the national (and world) TV-press coverage given their Washington teach-in. Moreover, no organized and coherent counter-offensive in favor of a firm stand has yet taken shape.

In a dispatch to the *New York Times*, C. L. Sulzberger has identified the problem: "The remarkable Communist propaganda apparatus seeks to undermine the resolve of governments in Saigon and Washington. . . . Many American intellectuals display a strange lemming instinct and refuse to see the struggle in its true meaning as advertised quite openly by the Communists themselves: a showdown with global implications. . . . Our adversary finds it possible to use democratic processes of free speech to harass distant vulnerable spots. . . . The question is whether Saigon and Washington have the hardiness to face such a prospect [of protracted conflict]. This is where the dialectic of wills comes in and where not only Hanoi but Peking reckons on ultimate victory—not only in Vietnam but in the world."

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The Strange Case Against Fourteen-B

Can the right-to-work clause in Taft-Hartley be saved? Yes, says the author, if certain Democrats will just summon the nerve to say No, for once, to the President

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Astoundingly, when Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz went before a House Education and Labor subcommittee to demand repeal of the famous "right to work" clause of the Taft-Hartley Act that is known as 14(b) he based his argument on the "right" of unions and management to decide the conditions of work for themselves on good old freedom of contract. What Mr. Wirtz—and, in back of him, George Meany of AFL-CIO—was saying was surely enough to draw horse laughs from a convocation of wooden Indians, but, so dulled is our sense of logic these days, nobody seemed to catch the gorgeous humor of the occasion. Freedom of contract, forsooth!

Organized labor hasn't wanted freedom of contract as between unions and management since old Sam Gompers, the apostle of voluntarism, went to his reward. For myself, I can see intellectual respectability in the freedom of contract argument if it were to be carried across the board. If unions were to get no help from special-privilege legislation such as the Wagner Act, which put the power of the state behind any union which could achieve a 51 per cent membership in any given shop; if the National Labor Relations Board were to disband and go home; if the old Yellow Dog contract (an agreement whereby workers could freely promise *not* to join unions) were to be reinstated as one possible end of bargaining; if the Railway Labor Act were to be forgotten; if federal judges were to be permitted the right to forestall strike violence by injunctions; if—but you get the idea. W. Willard Wirtz and George Meany are just about as much in love with freedom of contract as the Black Muslims are with the philosophy of Booker T. Washington.

The prime reason for putting Section 14(b) into the Taft-Hartley Act in the first place was that the principle of voluntarism needs one last refuge in a world that has decided, through the enactment of a widely ramified tissue of positive laws, to give big unions and big management the power to hunt together as a pack, with the consumer paying the bills for expensive labor-management agreements. The big corporations may not like compulsory unionism, but, in the interests of harmony, they don't think it very practicable as a general thing to go out on a limb for right-to-work laws in any of the big industrial areas. The artisans of the Taft-Hartley Act, faced with a condition as well as a theory, tried to line up on both sides of the "union shop" squabble. They didn't quite dare to ban the union shop nationally, although they did frown upon the stricter variety of compulsory unionism known as the closed shop. (Under the union shop you don't have to be a union member to get a job, but you do have to join the union in order to keep it.) In deference to the demand for some limitation on the idea that labor and management have a contractual right to compel individuals to join unions as a condition of employment, the artisans of Taft-Hartley inserted the now-beleaguered clause that permits the separate states to outlaw the union shop if they so choose. Nineteen states now have right-to-work laws—and if a worker has insuperable objections to being forced into a union he can always move to one of these states.

Frankfurter as 14(b) Man?

The Taft-Hartley Act is philosophically inconsistent in permitting the union shop unless it is banned by the states. But the inconsistency is traditionally Madisonian and traditionally American. It permits the states to judge for themselves whether they want to force unionism on recalcitrant individualists. The "progressives" of an older day would have supported Section 14(b) as a truly Brandeisian device for allowing the states to conduct their own industrial "experiments." The late Felix Frankfurter, as a Brandeisian, would have had to be a 14(b) man or give up any special claim to honor in the application of his own legal philosophy.

Even some labor leaders who want the practical advantage of having union shop laws on the books feel uncomfortable about actually compelling men to do a union's bidding. The garment workers' David Dubinsky used to wink at the employment of anti-union philosophical anarchists in shops covered by his contracts. He didn't like to get unduly tough with men of genuine principle.

Since 14(b) hasn't hurt the union shop in the big industrial states where the AFL-CIO has the bulk of its strength, it is a little difficult to understand the depths of George Meany's animus against it. But somehow it has become labor's King Charles's head. The question is whether the true reason for the animus against 14(b) is economic or organizational or political.

The unions, with New York's Senator Bobby Kennedy fronting for them on this score, stress a supposed economic reason for wishing to knock out 14(b). Speaking in Miami Beach, Bobby Kennedy dwelt at some length on what he insisted was the economic backwardness of the right-to-work states, particularly those of the Southeast. Wages in the right-to-work states, said Senator Kennedy, averaged $77.77 a week. Inasmuch as the national "average weekly earnings of production workers" is $102.68, the $77.77 figure for right-to-work states sounds deplorable. But, as Mr. Reed

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Larson, the Executive Vice-President of the National Right to Work Committee, has pointed out, Bobby Kennedy was guilty of comparing states which have a big component of rural workers with states in which agriculture plays a lesser part. If the Senator had stuck to the far more relevant figure for "production workers," his average for the weekly earnings in right-to-work states would have risen to $96.34. Moreover, if Bobby Kennedy had left the states of the South, which are just beginning to industrialize, out of his computation, his case would have flopped completely. For the average weekly earnings in the seven fairly-well-along-in-industrialization states of Arizona, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, South Dakota, Nevada and Utah, all of which have right-to-work laws, are actually higher than the national average. And the increase in average weekly earnings of production workers over the last ten years has been greater in the right-to-work states than in those which permit the union shop. The figure for right-to-work states is a 46.85 per cent increase; the figure for union shop states is 42.8 per cent.

Wages: Productivity Function

This business of statistics manipulation is actually beside the point. For wages are a function of productivity, and productivity is a function of investment, and investment is a function of a whole complex of things, ranging from climate and water to availability of technical training, and from market accessibility to worker attitudes, to say nothing of the availability of money and the hopes for profit. If you want to play the statistics game, you can use Arizona and New Mexico to prove that labor does better under voluntary unionism than it does in an atmosphere of compulsion. Back in 1955 the average weekly earnings of a worker in New Mexico, which permits the union shop, were $85 as against Arizona's $82. But right-to-work Arizona proceeded to outdistance New Mexico over the next decade. The Arizona figure for 1965 is $111, while union-shop New Mexico limps along with an average of $90.

Jumping to conclusions in the manner of Bobby Kennedy, you might say that the state which produces a Barry Goldwater attracts the sort of corporation that can afford the best in wages. But the fact that Arizona is closer to California's urban markets might have had more to do with the wage improvement. Who knows? And what has unionization to do with the wage level anyway? Historically, wages have gone up as productivity has increased without any particular reference to the state of union organization at the time. Mr. F. A. Harper proved this a long time ago in his book, *Why Wages Rise*. This doesn't mean that well-entrenched unions may not push the money wages of a few workers higher than they might otherwise be. But the volume of wages in the country as a whole will be less because of a resulting restriction of employment. And if Mr. Meany were able to organize the whole country as a result of knocking out 14(b), putting all workers in line for the same sort of agreements, the advantage to a few specially favored union workers would disappear either through a general across-the-board lowering of real wages or a general increase in unemployment.

The really strange thing about Bobby Kennedy's foray into the world of statistical manipulation is that the Senator ignored his own state of New York. Eight of the right-to-work states have higher average weekly earnings than New York in the "production worker" category. If the union shop is considered the key to wage improvement, New York State should be mentioned as an all too glaring exception to the rule.

No doubt Willard Wirtz and George Meany *think* that the unions have an economic case against 14(b). But the really galling objections which the union hierarchies have to voluntarism are organizational and political. These, of course, are often disguised by reference to morality and equity. The hierarchies refer again and again to the "free rider" argument which insists that it is only just and equit-

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able for all workers in a shop to pay for the benefits won for them by the duly constituted bargaining unit. But the "free rider" argument is, actually, a gift from government, which gives exclusive bargaining rights to a 51 per cent majority as certified by the NLRB in any given shop. A big minority of workers are prevented by law from bargaining for themselves, then they are denounced for not paying tribute to bargaining agents who have been arbitrarily set over them.

Actually, the union hierarchies are the free loaders here. When, on certification of 51 per cent of the vote, they are presented with exclusive bargaining powers, they no longer have to worry about minority needs or demands. The minority may object that the majority is asking for wage rates that will have a deleterious effect on the purchasing power of the dollar. Or it may object that the union officials who supposedly represent them spend too much time campaigning for a political party that is antipathetic to everything in which they believe. Whenever the NLRB gives a union the bargaining rights in a shop, it inevitably lets it become a free loader to some extent in the political realm. And when a union shop is forced on workers, the free loading of the officials—in terms of dues money that gets diverted into political activity, often by hidden channels—becomes really unconscionable. There is the possibility of legal redress here, as was demonstrated by those Georgia railroad workers who successfully sued for a return of their dues money that was used for political purposes unauthorized by them. But not everyone who feels that he has been hurt by having his rights invaded by union officials who use his money to undercut him politically can afford to take the risk of bringing suit. A union member who publicly goes against his official union bosses is a marked man.

Ironically, the latent threat of a free riding minority resurgence is needed to keep union officials from becoming lax as bargainers for the majority. Thus the supposed free rider performs a service for which he deserves pay. The decent way to lure free riders into the union is to get such good things for the whole of labor that they will be ashamed to remain uncommitted.

In 1941, during a dispute with the coal miners' John L. Lewis, President Roosevelt said his Administration would "never compel" a minority of non-union workers "to join the union by government decree." Said FDR: "That would be too much like the Hitler methods toward labor." Exactly! But the Liberals who fancy themselves as good Rooseveltians have forgotten what their idol once said. Certainly the union leaders do not see the Fascist corporate state implications of their claim that a union, like a state, has the right to force "citizenship" on people and to take a compulsory tax in dues from those who resist enforced association in non-state activities.

Unions Wants Pound of Flesh

Coming down off their high moral horses, the union leaders argue that state right-to-work laws interfere with organizational drives. But *Fortune Magazine*, in its June 1965 issue, points out that union membership has gone up in right-to-work Arizona while it has stagnated in Michigan, which permits the union shop. The argument that right-to-work laws facilitate union busting has never had any practical corroboration. In Indiana the existence of a right-to-work law was more honored in the breach than in the observance. The law was repealed by a Democratic legislature early in 1965, and Democratic Governor Branigin justified putting his signature to the repeal legislation on the ground that the old law had been hypocritical! The courts had sanctioned something called the "agency shop," under which employers treated their workers as if they had been bona fide union members, letting the unions collect from them by a check-off system.

Since the economic, the moral and the organizational arguments against the retention of 14(b) are either phony or illogical, the real reason for labor's push to get rid of the law must relate to political symbolism. What the unions want is proof that they can get what they pay for when they use their vast COPE-nourished muscle to elect a President, and a Senate and House of Representatives majority. If Lyndon Johnson won't give the union leaders their pound of flesh by forcing the repeal of 14(b), it will be proof to George Meany and Walter Reuther that they do not really control the White House.

It would be almost too much for the union leaders to bear to discover than Lyndon Johnson is more of a Texas Populist than he is a union agent. Roosevelt angered John L. Lewis by taking good United Mine Workers' campaign money and then, after "supping at labor's table," going his own way as the agent, not of labor, but of a much larger coalition. George Meany and Walter Reuther don't propose to let LBJ's devotion to "consensus" get in the way of delivering on the campaign promise to repeal 14(b). But LBJ likes to think of himself as a Roosevelt, and there is a bare possibility that the unions have underestimated the Rooseveltian strain in their enigmatic friend from Texas.

However, the chances that Lyndon will listen to the "consensus"—three important polls, taken respectively by Louis Harris, George Gallup and Opinion Research, support 14(b)—are said to be diminishing. He has recommended repeal of 14(b), and he hates to be licked.

For myself, I doubt that either the House of Representatives or the Senate will have the guts to stand up to Johnson if he puts his back into the effort to please the union bosses. Twenty out of 23 Texas congressmen, when questioned privately, indicated that they were against repeal of the clause in the Taft-Hartley Act which permits the State of Texas to have its own right-to-work law. The governor of Texas, John Connally, is for retention of 14(b). Lyndon himself used to be for it. Yet who would bet a nickel that the Texas delegation in Congress will remain true to itself if Lyndon really wants to do a little arm-twisting or be a little munificent with some appealing contracts?

If 14(b) is to be retained, it will only be because of the fear of an aroused electorate. Iowa has a bunch of new Democratic congressmen, some of whom owe at least something to labor for their victories. Yet the Iowa state legislature, which went Democratic last November, has refused to repeal the state right-to-work law which, like Texas', has been in effect since 1947. Conceiv-

(Continued on p. 521)

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Letter from the Continent

Mounting Tide of Anti-Americanism

ERIK V. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

There really is such a thing as a mounting tide of anti-Americanism in Europe and the reasons behind it are both good and bad, contrived and legitimate. The bad reasons clearly prevail, although, to be quite frank, Americans themselves often reveal a curious duality: in spite of loud protestations, they are frequently more ideological-minded (and prejudiced) than most Europeans, but they also have a highly pragmatic bent. The idealistic Puritan and the hardheaded businessman seem to fight a never-ending battle in the American soul.

Kuehnelt-Leddihn

The usual mistake most Americans make in dealing with people of other nations stems from the notion that "human beings are more alike than unlike" (the result of the successful assimilation of millions of immigrants) and the rather idealistic determination to treat others as one would like to be treated oneself: "What would my reaction be if I were in his shoes?" The American is not aware that to be in somebody else's shoes is to be another man altogether, and so this commendable phrase really makes no sense. The other mistake derives from pragmatism. Americans are by nature generous and quickly forget insults and injuries. Europeans, on the other hand, not only have long memories but, their comparative lack of generosity often makes them spiteful and even envious. Envy is Europe's most widespread and terrible disease. After a great upheaval Americans will ask themselves "Where do we go from here?" whereas Europeans, their gaze always fixed on the past, will continue to act under the influence of past experiences, memories, and grievances. (In this respect the Latin American is very much like the European; events that took place 400 years ago have not in the least been effaced from historic memory.)

European anti-Americanism, however, has several versions. There is the personal one represented by Charles de Gaulle and his wartime recollections; there is one assiduously cultivated by the extreme Left composed of Communists and socialists; there is a distinctly capitalistic one entertained by entrepreneurs fearing American competition and commercial "invasion"; there is a nationalistic version which plays on a mixture of memories concerned with defeat, occupation and the negative aspects of the wartime alliance. Then there are all sorts of petty-minded people who feel thwarted by individual Americans; and finally there is even a conservative edition of anti-Americanism, which cultivates the silly myth of a highly cultural and intellectual Europe being methodically poisoned by a materialistic America whose Wall Street is simply a Kremlin in reverse. Of course, naked envy is more often than not the real, though unacknowledged, root of all these sentiments.

Democracy Is Based on Change

America lacks an awareness of the rest of the world's fundamental otherness, but there exists another American handicap and that (paradoxically enough) is its indifference to the more remote future. Of course, it can be argued that *all* democracies live in the present and make ad hoc decisions because they cannot guess what sort of government they, their allies, or their enemies will have in two, three, or four years. Democracy is based on change and not on permanence; American foreign policy may at times be utopian, but it is not "futuristic." There is no blueprint for "the shape of things to come" comparable to the famous political testaments of European monarchs with their dynastic thinking and their desperate efforts to make calculations about the times and lives of their grandchildren and great-grandchildren. In a democracy the next Administration may change many things.

Thus we now see numerous American decisions of the war and postwar periods boomeranging. Neither Mr. Roosevelt nor Mr. Truman foresaw the reappearance of Charles de Gaulle on the political scene; Mr. Truman was quite naive when he thought that Mr. Sukarno would become a pillar of American foreign policy; and when America did not move a finger to aid the French in Indochina because they were wicked colonialists, they little suspected that only a few years later they would have to take up where the French had left off. Thus, wherever one goes in Europe one meets anti-Americanism of one sort or another. And it has become more and more vocal: *pieds-noirs* from Algeria, French victims of Allied bombardments, English Tories, wrongfully jailed Germans. . . .

Yet, let us acknowledge that Europeans really know nothing about America; at best they parrot the American press, which is anything but representative of American public opinion. The real question which ought to be answered by European non-Communist anti-Americans are these: 1) Do you or don't you consider American military support for Europe essential? 2) Would Europe ever have propagated and fostered pan-European unity if it went against her own economic interests? 3) Are American investments in Europe an asset or a liability to European economy as a whole? 4) Is our knowledge of American affairs really superior to American knowledge of Europe? 5) What efforts have Europeans made to enlighten American official circles, or American public opinion, about our problems? 6) Has American idealism been more or less notable than its European counterpart?

There are many more questions which would put Europe on the spot. Yet, it is also true that the wisest among us, however few we may be in numbers, while critical of America in many ways, are growing tired of the cheap anti-Americanism so prevalent now in Europe. And our reasons are practical as well as moral.

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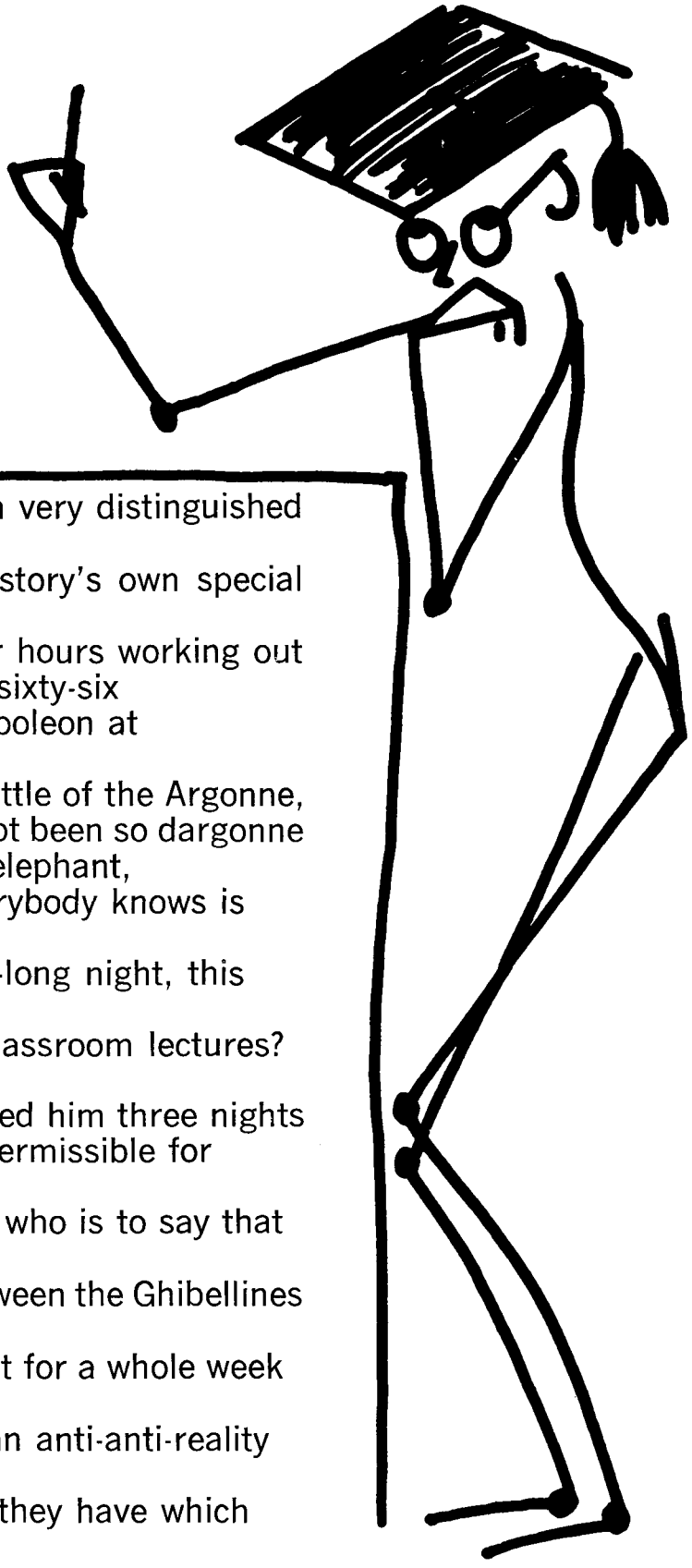

Once upon a time there was a certain very distinguished
university professor,
Who secretly regarded himself as history's own special
second gessor,
Often would he lie awake at night for hours working out
what would have happened in ten sixty-six
If Xerxes had won at Hastings or Napoleon at
Appomattix,
Or Xenophon had come to win the Battle of the Argonne,
Which indeed he might have had he not been so dargonne
Silly about the tactical value of the elephant,
Which in up-to-date tank warfare everybody knows is
virtually irrelephant.
And thus he'd toss and turn the live-long night, this
scholarly professor,
And was he sleepy next day in his classroom lectures?
Yessor.
One special event for example occupied him three nights
running and this was that if it is permissible for
Ulysses S. Grant
To use a trireme against the Cid why who is to say that
Genghis Khant?
And as for the internecine conflict between the Ghibellines
and the Goths
Why, that one had him tied up at night for a whole week
in noths,
Until his physician had to give him an anti-anti-reality
shot,
And plug him into this new machine they have which
helps bleeding hearts to clot.

Johannes Eff

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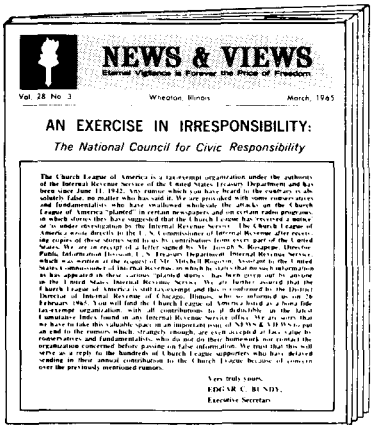
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Along the Peace Front

Columbia Buckles Under

EDWARD J. BELL

On the afternoon of Friday, May 7, it was raining at Columbia. Accordingly, the university branch of the Naval Reserve Officer Training Corps arranged to move its annual awards ceremony and outdoor military review to Low Library, once a real library but now the University's chief site for ceremonial occasions. The ceremony, the most important in the four-year training career of the student midshipmen, was scheduled to begin at 3:00 P.M.

Another Columbia group had its meeting forced indoors. The Columbia University Independent Committee on Vietnam, the more moderate of the two Vietnam-oriented isolationist groups on campus (its leaders do not openly identify themselves with Communist China), received official permission to meet in Hewitt Lounge in Ferris Booth Hall, the student activity center. Scheduled to speak were a professor of history from Yale, a professor of sociology from Adelphi, and a Columbia instructor in French.

Prevent Guests' Entry

During the proceedings in Hewitt Lounge, a student urged that the speeches be hurried "because there is something going on at Low Library that we want to observe." At about 2:00 P.M., between 75 and a hundred students emerged from Ferris Booth Hall in the rain. In the words of an official memorandum issued by Columbia President Grayson Kirk, the group "converged on Low Library and ran up onto the porch. A number of persons from other universities and from other off-campus points were seen. Many were carrying signs demanding that the United States cease military operations in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. In each case, the chants were begun by a few individual voices and picked up by the crowd, which at its height numbered around 200. The behavior of the crowd was characterized by observers as hysterical."

The students, while shouting peace slogans, massed around the main and southeast entrances of Low Library, forcibly preventing the invited guests of the University, including parents of the NROTC students, from entering the building. The left door to the main entrance was smashed. At this point Columbia authorities, having appealed unsuccessfully for the students to disperse, called the city police. When a detail of twenty men and three officers arrived from the local precinct, they were asked to clear a path for incoming guests. In the words of President Kirk's memorandum, dated four days after the incident, "the only actual physical contact between any of them and the crowd was a pushing response to repulse the shoving by the crowd and attempts to clear the pressures on the front doors, during which a few demonstrators were pulled away from the doors. *At no time were clubs, or arms of any kind, used or threatened or even exhibited.* When it became evident that the size of the police detachment was inadequate, the police withdrew into the foyer. Their only subsequent action was to act as escort as mentioned above." (Italics added.) These policemen were later accused, by the demonstrators and by the *New York Post*, of "police brutality."

President Shouted Down

At various times during the "demonstration," President Kirk, Vice-President Lawrence Chamberlain, Assistant Dean Irving DeKoff, Captain Adam Denisco of the University Security Police force, and the captain of the police contingent, tried to speak to the crowd. When Vice-President Chamberlain, a popular former Dean of Columbia College, tried to talk, "constant interruptions from the shouting, jeering group made communication impossible." While President Kirk was speaking, a student standing nearby shouted, "What do you know about education?" When Dean DeKoff hoisted himself onto the base of a pillar and tried to get the attention of the crowd, a girl standing just behind him repeatedly screamed, "Police off campus!", making it impossible for him to be heard. A request by an assistant professor of naval science to let guests through to the ceremony was ignored. The attempt of the police captain to speak was immediately and completely shouted down.

The demonstrators having effectively sealed off Low Library, the university was faced with two alternatives: it could call in more police and break up the demonstration, or it could cancel the Naval ceremony. The former course, it was felt, "would have required an additional 100 policemen and would have carried the danger of extreme violence, serious injury, and mass arrests." The ceremony was cancelled.

Rebels Verify Cancellation

When this result was announced to the students massed at the main door, it was received with skepticism. "Several persons in the front of the crowd," says the memorandum, "shouted demands that they be allowed into the building to verify that none of their followers was being held by authorities and that the ceremony would not be held." A representative of the rebel forces having been duly designated, he was conducted into Low Library by University officials, who convinced him both that enemy maneuvers had indeed been cancelled, and that no prisoners had been taken. He was thus able to confirm, to his constituency, the total success of the afternoon's project. The group applauded and cheered, and after a time, dispersed.

Earlier in the term, President Kirk had issued two warnings about the limits of "peaceful picketing," including one two days before the May 7 demonstration. The penalties against the students who had been identified were therefore expected to be severe. Twelve hundred students signed a petition urging the University to "expel or suspend" the students involved. The principals themselves, however, were no strangers to the art of propaganda. Morningside Heights was

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flooded with a series of circulars and petitions condemning the University Administration, the Security Guard, the police, the NROTC, and the war in Vietnam. A series of statements was issued denying the apparent goals of the demonstration (sample: "We did not intend to be discourteous") while reaffirming the "deeply felt moral convictions" which prompted the day's maneuvers. What the *New York Times* described as "a number of influential faculty members" "respectfully urged the Administration to exercise clemency." James Wechsler, in his *New York Post* column, discovered and marveled at the moderation of one of the non-violent leaders (. . . he spoke with a somber fair-mindedness one hopes his judge will emulate").

President Kirk appointed a disciplinary commission consisting of Columbia College Dean David B. Truman, Graduate Faculties Dean Ralph S. Halford, and Engineering Executive Dean Wesley J. Hennessy. On May 17 this group, after intensive hearings, announced its recommendations to the President. The main proposal was that a "letter of censure" be sent to each of fifty students identified in the demonstration, signed by the appropriate dean. Since the demonstration "was at most loosely organized and in effect leaderless," none of the "leaders" (the wording of the University's memorandum of May 11) was singled out for special discipline. The *Times* described the ruling as a "compromise worked out partly through the intercession" of the "influential faculty members." *The Daily News*, in its headline, was more explicit: "Columbia U. slaps wrists of 50 in Riot." The University itself maintained that the "censure" was "an action more severe than probation and just short of suspension." But the former contention, at least, is hard to understand, since the censures, unlike probation, are not entered on the student's permanent transcript and do not affect in any way his participation in "extracurricular activities." The letter maintained that further incidents "will subject you to the possibility of immediate dismissal," but for some of the students this was in effect the second such warning; Vice-President Chamberlain had some time earlier singled out for special warning some of the students known to have taken part in the May 7 demonstrations.

The demonstrators were not the only participants in the affair to be rebuked. The report also censured a group of students who opposed the demonstrators; and it found that the police Columbia authorities had summoned (and which the University memorandum had praised) had by their "arrival" and "their actions in performing their duty" served "to aggravate an already confused situation." The decision of the University employee who had summoned the police, on the other hand, was found to be "an entirely reasonable one."

One of the less noticed recommendations of the report (all the recommendations were accepted) was that the NROTC awards ceremony be scheduled for the morning of Commencement at Low Library. "We are confident that no member of this University will permit himself to interfere with their conduct." David Gilbert head of the Columbia Independent Committee on Vietnam and one of the students "censured" expressed his "relief" that the University had shown what he called a "certain amount of reasonableness" about the whole thing; and immediately announced that the rescheduled awards ceremony would be picketed. The pickets were out, as promised, but so were the police, and in such force, that the NROTC awards went off without a hitch.

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James Herrick Gipson, RIP

LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON

On February 19, after a long illness, James Herrick Gipson passed away. He and his press, the Caxton Printers Ltd. of Caldwell, Idaho, for many years occupied a unique position in the country. James Gipson was both realist and idealist in outlook. The success of his publishing enterprise was based on a mixture of these two characteristics. The profits from the commercial aspects of the business—state and country printing and the state agency for the distribution of text books for the public schools, etc. —made it possible for him to bring out books that he felt were worthwhile but were likely to result in a loss. Many an author with real ability was therefore able to get his first book published by the Caxton Printers and subsequently thereby to gain the attention of some leading New York, Boston or Philadelphia publisher. Moreover, many writers were attracted to the firm on account of the pains taken at every stage in the production of a book. As Jack Conroy of Chicago pointed out in a Foreword to Vardis Fisher's *The Caxton Printers of Idaho*: "The Caxton Printers expend on each book the same loving care and painstaking craftsmanship characterizing the handicraft of . . . that earlier Caxton when he printed [in 1474 or 1475] *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye,* the first [book] with English text." As the years passed and the reputation of the firm grew it was sought out especially by writers of Western Americana. Fisher's *Tragic Life* and certain other of his Western novels were published by Caxton in the 1930s and 1940s.

James Gipson was largely a self-educated man who did not even finish high school. Admitted as a special student at the University of Idaho in 1903 he had one year of higher education, although he was to return to the University in 1956 to receive the honorary degree of D. Litt. It seemed absolutely necessary for him to return home to take charge of the business end of the family print shop. As a result, in 1907 the Caxton Printers was incorporated and over the entrance to the publishing house soon after there appeared a bust of William Caxton, the first English printer. In that year James married Esther Sterling, who was a devoted companion during the remainder of his life. The home that they occupied for many years was a bibliophile's delight and a housekeeper's despair—books everywhere (many of them deluxe editions) in bookcases, on chairs, and even piled almost to the ceiling.

While James Gipson enjoyed people and was devoted to his family and relatives, he had gradually built a world of his own, largely inhabited by great figures, great achievements, by great ideas of the past—a world that few, if any, of his intimates ever fully penetrated. His openly expressed views on the problems of the day were molded not only by his background of intensive reading, but also by the environment in which he grew to maturity—the West of the 1890s and the early 1900s. His deep admiration for Theodore Roosevelt was based on a reading of *The Coming of the West* and on taking to heart the Roosevelt preachment of "the strenuous life," but he was especially influenced by Rooseveltian views on public and private affairs.

In 1937 there occurred an event that might have discouraged a man of lesser determination. A fire destroyed the Caxton publishing house with all its records and mechanical equipment. Fortunately, this catastrophe was surmounted by Gipson. But it seemed for a time that—under the strangling, complicated regulations of the New Deal NRA, added to the depression already facing the country, and with publishing profits turning into deficits —the firm would have to suspend operations. "If it had not been for the Supreme Court decision outlawing NRA," wrote James Gipson, "the Caxton Printers would now be spoken of only in the past tense." His view of the efforts of the government to regulate and manage private business were further summarized: "Running The Caxton Printers is quite a job for those of us who have spent a quarter of a century at it, and we didn't see quite how it could be done by bureaucrats three thousand miles away."

James Gipson's interest in publishing was matched by his concern with public affairs, particularly those relating to the national scene. Twice he left his business in Caldwell to set up headquarters in Boise for the re-election of Senator Borah; in 1912 he took over the management of the Theodore Roosevelt Bull Moose Western campaign and in 1916 he was a director of the Hughes Alliance campaign in Idaho. He was as strongly opposed to the United States' becoming involved in international entanglements as he was to government interfering in private business affairs. Out of this deep conviction that what was needed to realize more fully the American dream was not more governmental restriction of private affairs but more freedom, came his project of a "Libertarian Library." This he decided to present to the public as a national service.

The first volume in Libertarian Library was the republication in 1938 of Herbert Spencer's *Man Versus the State.* This was followed by such books as Albert J. Nock's *Our Enemy the State;* Garet Garrett's trilogy, *The Revolution Was, Ex America,* and *Rise of Empire.* In an article written by E. V. Stanley in the October 12, 1957, issue of *Human Events,* a list was published of thirty-four books that had already appeared in the Libertarian Library. In the latest (1964) announcement of forthcoming books by the Caxton Printers six libertarian books were listed: Wheeler McMillen's *Why the United States is Rich,* William H. Wilbur's *Russian Communism, A Challenge and a Fraud,* Peter J. Huxley-Blythe's *The East Came West,* Oscar W. Cooley's *Paying Men Not to Work,* Joseph S. Roucek and Kenneth V. Lottich's *Behind the Iron Curtain,* and Chester C. Maxey's *Bipartisanship in the United States.* One may indeed believe that James Gipson will be chiefly remembered in the years to come as that dedicated publisher of books who sought to recover the freedom of the individual as he knew it in his youth, and as it was particularly characterized in the West of his early days.

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Letter from Africa

An Assassination that Failed

GILBERT COMTE

The April 13 attack on President Diori Hamani of the Republic of Niger was dramatic proof of the political dangers that exist in Western Africa. The circumstances alone of the attempted assassination—in the Grand Mosque of Niamey during the most important religious ceremony of the year—were enough to stir up violent reaction among Moslems in that part of Africa. But Niger also happens to be a member of the *Conseil de l'Entente,* the most resolutely anti-Communist and pro-Western organization in Africa. (The *Conseil de l'Entente* consists of four Republics, Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Upper Volta and Niger, covering over two million square kilometers of territory from the Sahara—south of Libya and Algeria—southwest to the Atlantic. They have a combined population of thirteen million.) The attempt on President Hamani's life was for Niger authorities the culmination of six months of disquiet.

Widely Separated Targets

In 1959, before Niger had become fully independent from France, remaining an autonomous republic within the French Union, the leftist and violence-ridden *Sawaba* (Liberty) Party was outlawed. And its leader, Djibo Bakary, (vice president of the Niger cabinet from 1956-1958), a demagogue whose inflammatory harangues had often touched off violence and disorder, was sent into exile. Nothing more was heard of him until early last winter when a military patrol along the Volta frontier intercepted five armed men near the little town of Say. Papers found on the body of Hassan Noussa, the chief of the commandos, indicated the group was under orders from Djibo Bakary to organize a popular revolution. Bakary was now in exile in Ghana where he had been made welcome by Kwame Nkrumah until such time as he could return to Niger.

The Interior Minister, Diamballa Yansambou Maiga, was still studying the facts of the situation when he was informed, by telegram, that during the same twenty-four hour period a dozen other insurgents had tried to capture the Customs Office at Maradounfa, a small town in Western Niger, along the Nigerian frontier. Maradounfa was several hundred kilometers from the area of the first penetration. Why infiltrations in such widely separated areas?

The answer soon came with the capture of Sane Dan Koulou, a former Assembly deputy and chief of the second detachment of rebels. Sane Dan Koulou had become a close adviser of Bakary in exile. He revealed that both operations were part of a major plan of subversion, organized with the aid of Algeria, Ghana and Red China. A few days later a third group of rebels attacked a Custom House at Bosso, inside the Chad border, killing and wounding several persons. In the following weeks, other groups armed with grenades and automatic weapons attempted to organize an insurrection in the southeastern section of the country. There, they assassinated a school teacher. Angry peasants seized Dandouna Aboubakar, the assassin, and turned him over to the police. He confirmed Sane Dan Koulou's story and added certain details of his own. Under the pretentious name of the "Niger Army of Liberation," these small bands were charged with provoking disorders in the country, destroying bridges, ferries, administrative offices and isolated customs houses. They had been ordered to sabotage oil dumps, electrical installations, airports; to break into jails and free both political prisoners and criminals who would, it was hoped, return the favor by joining the "troops" of the revolution. The attempt on Hamani's life was envisioned as the crowning blow in a vast plan of subversion capable of fracturing the fragile stability of an impoverished African state just five years old. To put such an audacious plan into execution obviously required trained combatants.

Dandouna Aboubakar confessed that he had helped train a "formation of guerrillas" in a special school in Nanking between 1961 and 1963. The number of *Sawaba* students at the special training school in Nanking seems to have ranged from 25 to thirty. School notebooks, adorned with pagodas and dragons, found on some of the rebels subsequently captured detail the methods and aims of the Chinese training. The name of the owner of each notebook was written in large, heavy letters on the title page in French. The lessons, covering ten months of study, also were in French. Each lesson was dated, and datelined.

The rudiments of Marxism, with emphasis on its martial aspects, were stressed from the start: there was less talk about dialectical materialism than about the war between the classes and the "irreducible conflict between the oppressors and the oppressed." Significantly, but hardly surprisingly, the few purely theoretical discussions all stressed the Chinese interpretation of Marxist doctrine, as opposed to the Soviet. Mao Tse-tung's revolution was pictured as the model for all future African and Asian revolutions. The political and military lectures were so alternated as to develop in the trainees a growing hatred for "imperialism" while giving them the skills needed to overthrow "imperialism" in their native lands.

Close ties between the Communists and Bakary were not formed until 1961, nearly two years after he had gone into exile. That year Bakary sent Sane Dan Koulou and a *Sawaba* delegation to the Communist World Youth Festival in Helsinki. While in Finland, Sane Dan Koulou made contact with eight fellow Niger exiles, who had arrived from the Soviet

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Union. They boasted to him of the insurgency training available in the East. Sane Dan Koulou was impressed by their story and reported it back to his chief. Bakary immediately left Bamako, Mali, where he had been living, and went to Accra. There, Nkrumah placed living quarters, offices, cars and money at his disposal. For a number of years now Ghana has served as a relay point for African revolutionaries coming and going to and from Russia and Red China. It was from the airport in Accra that Sane Dan Koulou was soon to fly to Peking with ten other recruits. His official mission was to see that they got a complete education in political and military terrorist tactics.

'Total Insecurity' Sought

The extent of Bakary's plan for toppling the Niamey government was revealed later in the winter when government troops intercepted still another group of fourteen armed partisans. They were under the orders of a graduate of the Nanking school called Tine Malele. Malele's instructions were obviously of Chinese origin—and grandiose in conception. He was to bring about a state of "total insecurity" in the jungle; progressively to isolate the capital and organize "free zones," just as the Chinese Communists had done in their civil war against Chiang Kai-shek. The *Sawaba* party in Niger itself, which had been organizing underground since 1961, was at a given signal, to rise in support of the rebels.

To carry out such an ambitious plan was obviously beyond the capability of the dozen or so men trained in Nanking. But in Africa, anti-Western subversion has a thousand ramifications. While certain *Sawaba* militants went to China, others were in training at the Marnia camp in Algeria. One of them, a certain Yacouba Dari, reports that he was integrated into the Algerian Army: that he wore an Algerian uniform, underwent the same training and received the same pay as Algerian soldiers. Algerian Defense Minister Houari Boumedienne explicitly confirmed this information on April 10 when he declared: "Some of our African brothers are training with our soldiers. This is a great honor for our army and for our people." These "brothers" are not confined to *Sawaba* recruits from Niger and anti-Tshombe Congolese rebels. From all evidence, the Algerians are helping to train revolutionaries whose mission will be to take the offensive against all those states in sub-Sahara Africa that are known for their pro-Western sympathies.

Menaced by this mobilization, these states recently organized a conference at Nouakchott, in Mauritania, to set up a common defense organization. The official communiqué signed at the end of the conference condemned Communist Ghana by name and Algeria and Communist China by implication (". . . the actions of certain states . . . that welcome agents of subversion" etc.). Most of the important West African states signed the declaration, among them: Niger, Ivory Coast, Senegal, Cameroon, Gabon and Malagasy.

If you exclude the spectacular Belgian parachute drop in Stanleyville in November 1964, the most important political event in Africa in the last six months has been the revelation of Red China's part in promoting subversion in Niger. On the surface, Mao Tse-tung's interest in a republic that is largely desert and has only three million inhabitants appears paradoxical. Unlike the Congo, Niger has no natural riches. But its geographical position south of the Sahara, its extended frontiers which cover millions of acres of desert almost impossible to patrol, make it one of the most vulnerable of the countries of West Africa. More important, to kill President Hamani would be to strike an important blow at his old friend Houphouet-Boigny, President of the Ivory Coast. And Peking knows as well as Washington and Paris that Houphouet-Boigny is the mainstay of the anti-Communist resistance south of the Sahara, and the pivotal figure in it.

Middle East Dilemma

Diplomatic Farce in Yemen

STANKO GULDESCA

On March 8, 1965, the State Department announced that if "procedural difficulties" could be overcome it was ready to facilitate the shipment of surplus food supplies to the Mutawakelite Kingdom of Yemen. The Department's declaration is a gratifying though long overdue manifestation of humanitarian concern. State Department policies bear a heavy share of responsibility for the prolongation of the Yemeni war. This conflict broke out on September 26, 1962, when a group of army officers seized control of the government of the south Arabian state. They failed, however, to kill the King and Imam (religious leader descended in the female line from the Prophet, Muhammad). Muhamad al-Badr, escaped from the capital city, San'a. When they found that he was raising the northern and eastern tribes against them, the conspirators asked the United Arab Republic to send an army to Yemen to succor them.

President Gamel Abdel Nasser obliged by rushing 30,000 infantrymen with tank, air, and artillery support, to Yemen. The Egyptian president thought it would be a military pushover and that he would be able to establish "Arab Socialism" in Yemen. But the Yemeni are mostly small farmers and the only kind of socialism they will stand for is the very ancient form of communal own-

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ership of flocks, herds, etc., that has prevailed in the Arab world from time immemorial. Royalist commandos mined the roads used by Egyptian armor, blew up tanks, motor convoys, staff cars, and artillery pieces with considerable regularity. Egyptian patrols were picked off and even in broad daylight no Egyptian dared to get very far away from his unit. It was only command of the air that allowed the occupation forces to keep the royalists bottled up in the northern and eastern mountains.

Nasser urged his old friend, John S. Badeau, the American Ambassador in Cairo, to persuade President Kennedy to accord diplomatic recognition to the new republic. He promised Badeau that as soon as Washington recognized the new regime the Egyptian army would leave Yemen. On December 19 the U.S. accorded the desired recognition to San'a in the belief that the royalists would be discouraged and quit fighting and that Nasser would keep his promise to withdraw his troops.

But the war continued. Fearing the extension of the struggle the State Department next negotiated a "phased disengagement" agreement. The Egyptians again declared readiness to get out of Yemen if the Saudi Arabians, who they said were supporting al-Badr, would do the same. The United Nations sent "observer teams" to Yemen to check on both parties. After a year of such supervision UN Secretary General U Thant acknowledged that the Saudi Arabians had kept their promises to let the Yemeni fight it out among themselves, but Nasser again had broken his word.

Today Cairo has 75,000 infantry and technical troops in Yemen plus artillery, air, and tank units. All that this Soviet-equipped and-trained establishment has been able to accomplish is to occupy the chief cities, the coastal areas, and the central plain. Offensives directed against the mountain strongholds of the royalists in the north and east cost Cairo 25,000 men killed, 10,000 seriously wounded, many prisoners, and the loss of huge quantities of weapons and munitions.

The failure of the latest thrust, designed to crush resistence in the Haradh and Razeh areas in northern Yemen, caused thousands of tribesmen to leave Egyptian-held territory and tender their submission to al-Badr. Especially telling was the defection of the great Hashed Confederacy which holds the region between San'a and the chief city of the north, Sa'da.

On December 16, 1964, Sa'da fell into the hands of the royalists. This is the first city of any consequence that they have captured. Then on January 3 almost a thousand Egyptian and Yemeni republican troops, trapped on the Jebel Razeh mountain, surrendered. Further disasters have followed. In the Arab sector the front has advanced to within eighteen miles of San'a itself. Bani al-Harith tribesmen have surrounded the Soviet-built ar-Rahba air base only ten miles from the capital. As an iron ring seems to be tightening about the capital from the north and east savage revolts are raging in Ibb province south of San'a. Here Bani Matar clansmen are threatening the road leading from San'a to Hodeida on the Red Sea. This is the Egyptian lifeline to the coast. Its loss would mean that the Egyptian forces based in San'a would have to be supplied by air.

Nasser's Forces Diluted

The Egyptians were expected to launch an all out offensive this spring. But the royalists beat them to the punch by opening up new fronts in hitherto quiet sectors. Nasser's generals have had to disperse their forces to deal with this new situation and have been unable to build up at key points for a breakthrough. Forty different fighting fronts exist in Yemen today and enemies are rising up in the rear of the Egyptians whichever way they turn. On March 10, the royalists took Harib on the eastern front. This is the second major town that they have captured. Although the Egyptians suffered only about 100 casualties here their defeat is symptomatic of a general deterioration of the military situation. More important, the Egyptians have been unable to retake Harib. At the moment their garrisons in eastern Yemen have to be supplied by air.

The most effective tactic employed to date by Nasser's people is the deliberate and systematic destruction of crops, animals, and homes in areas contiguous to the royalist-held zones. So the State Department's decision to send food to the Mutawakelite Kingdom, the existence of which it hasn't recognized for more than two years, is opportune. Probably the moulders of American diplomatic destinies made this gesture to the royalists in the hope that it would moderate the opposition evinced by Congress to the continuation of food shipments to Egypt. Some congressmen couldn't follow the State Department argument that for "humanitarian reasons" the United States should feed Egyptians when the latter were doing their best to starve the Yemeni. Without the $50 million in U.S. aid Nasser is receiving, he might have had to pull his army of of Yemen before this.

Today the State Department finds that the government it recognized more than two years ago exists only on paper. And that the government it wrote off at the time is not only a going concern; it has taken the offensive. It is to be hoped that the Yemeni will remember only the food shipments that they may receive from America (if they ever get them) and will forget the diplomatic tragicomedy that preceded them when peace returns to Yemen, if the time comes that it ever does.

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Is There an Enemy?

M. STANTON EVANS

Henry Kissinger's third book on the Cold War confirms his already substantial reputation as a major commentator on international strategy and politics. Like its predecessors, it displays Kissinger's rare ability to examine and make clear a class of issues peculiar to our age—that half-political, half-technical thicket of obscurity which has sprung up at the confluence of nuclear sophistication and the forward rush of Communist aggression.

The partnership in Kissinger's title is the NATO alliance. Its trouble is an accelerating tendency towards disintegration, brought on by a number of causes among which Kissinger rates transformation of nuclear technology and abrupt shifts in American nuclear strategy as foremost. He sets out to analyze these causes, to isolate correctable problems from those mandated by the nature of things, and to suggest a program for putting the former right and getting the alliance back on its feet.

The chief difficulty, Kissinger argues, is a radical disjunction between the nuclear strategy the United States has for almost two decades been preparing itself to follow, and the non-nuclear strategy it is today talking about following and urging its allies to adopt. We have staked Free World prospects for survival on a program of nuclear deterrence, equipped our air force with nuclear payloads, tipped our missiles with nuclear warheads, and stuffed Europe with tactical nuclear weapons. Now we suddenly take to promoting a non-nuclear strategy, cut back on our strategic arsenal, declare our reluctance to use even tactical nuclear weapons, engage in a nuclear test-ban treaty with the Soviet Union, and in general put atomic weaponry as far from us as possible.

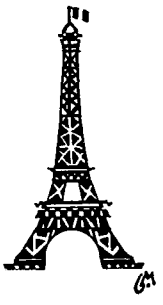
The Troubled Partnership, by Henry A. Kissinger. McGraw-Hill, $5.95

Kissinger anatomizes the baleful effects of this reversal on the NATO countries. The Europeans, he notes, down deep still tend to believe their security lies not in their own efforts but in the nuclear arsenal of the United States. Alternatively, if their security is *not* dependent on that arsenal, they see no reason for continued deference to Washington as the senior and ruling partner in the Atlantic Alliance. And they are confused—as who is not?—by such things as the continued buildup of tactical nuclear weapons on the continent and the proposal to equip mixed-man forces with atomic hardware alongside insistent statements that nuclear weapons are *verboten*.

There is no one better than Kissinger in turning such issues this way and that to catch every stray wisp of meaning or to anticipate the remotest objections to his line of reasoning. Along the way towards demonstrating what he charitably calls the "ambiguity" of U.S. policy, and what might be more accurately described as no policy whatever, he strikes off instructive and frequently brilliant comments on such matters as Washington's obsessive fear of nuclear "proliferation," de Gaulle's concern to maintain freedom of action for France, the curious hodge-podge known as the Multi-Lateral Force, our government's habit of undercutting its allies, our strangely uneven treatment of Germany, etc. All of these criticisms, however, are subordinate to his central theme—that we have been prepared, and in large measure are still prepared, for one kind of strategy, and are now behaving as if that strategy were the last thing on earth we are prepared to act upon.

Seeking the deeper sources of this alteration and the European mood it has helped create, Kissinger fixes on the widespread belief (promoted by our own government) that substantial parity exists between the two major powers in their ability to produce and deliver nuclear weapons, creating a balance of terror in which both nations can destroy each other and the rest of the world; and the partly resultant, partly contradictory, belief that the United States and the Soviet Union are ready to call a halt to the Cold War, and have for all practical purposes entered a period of accommodation. These ideas, the central precepts of current American policy toward Moscow, are fatal to the Atlantic coalition.

FOR AN ALLIANCE to come into being and operate with reasonable effectiveness, two conditions must exist. There must be something to ally *about*—generally some common adversary; and there has to be something the alliance can *do*, some project which will yield benefits from concerted action. If present assumptions governing American policy are true, neither of these conditions is met. If the *détente* is real, there is no enemy, and therefore no reason to have an alliance. If the threat of nuclear holocaust makes war unthinkable, the Soviet Union, even if it is an enemy, cannot be effectively resisted. That, in essence, is the dilemma Kissinger describes.



If the premises are true, however, it is difficult to see why there is a dilemma. If war is unthinkable and Moscow is mellowing, why do we need

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NATO, and what is it supposed to do? Why should we demand concerted action? On these terms, the dissolution of the Atlantic Alliance may be worrisome as a symptom of other difficulties, but it is not a problem in and of itself.

Kissinger suggests two rebuttals, one of which he partially disclaims, the other of which he advances as his own. The first is that we need the alliance to deal, not with the Soviet Union, but with the new villain, Red China. But if Red China with its concededly primitive economy and backward military establishment is the only real threat, then European nations may be forgiven for thinking their assistance is hardly needed by so immense a super-power as the United States. As for the much-discussed fear of "escalation," this makes sense only if the Soviet Union re-enters the picture, which means the assumptions about holocaust and *détente* re-enter with it and the discussion reverts to its original basis.

The other argument, which Kissinger himself professes, is that the alliance has other purposes to serve—purposes of the Atlantic Union, economic-and-political-development sort. He suggests this can best be accomplished through a NATO Executive Committee, to which all members would surrender an undefined portion of their sovereignty, which would iron out existing differences over military strategy and which would—presumably its most important function in view of the supposed *détente*—prevent the West from "consuming its substance" and go about the business of "forging unity from diversity." This rebuttal, however, seems as tenuous as the other.

WHATEVER THE prevalent attitudes of Europeans, it is certain this step toward supergovernment—for such it is, although Kissinger is vague about its non-military duties—would be a topic of hot controversy among Americans. If this sort of union is to be attempted, on however modest a scale, it should not be brought in by the side door of NATO. There is no justification for improvising even a tentative form of it as a *fait accompli* from a body created for another purpose, and even less reason for making the improvisation an urgent objective of American policy.

There is, in fact, only one good reason to be worried about the disintegration of NATO; namely, if there is an enemy, and if there is something NATO could and should be doing about it. "The troubled partnership" is a priority item only if the *détente* is *not* real, and if concerted action among the Atlantic nations can make us more secure against the hostile initiatives of the Soviets. It is our own network of assumptions about Communist mellowing, etc., which is destroying NATO. If the alliance is something we should be deeply concerned about, it can only be because those assumptions are wrong—which of course they are.

Kissinger, so incisive on other points, is silent about this central and contaminating error. While he can give us a dozen reasons why the Multi-Lateral Force is absurd, he has nothing to say about the imbecile notion that history's champion aggressors have suddenly mended their ways and embarked on a quest for peace. Perhaps it is ungrateful to suggest that a book which contains so many good things should also contain something more. But this particular something more, alas, is the key to everything else.

Technicolor and a Serbian Postcard

GUY DAVENPORT

THE FATTEST of these novels is the worst; the thinnest, the best. Realism is a dead duck, and it is realism in its debased sense of verbal cinema that makes nine out of ten fat novels a boredom unto coma. There is always, of course, the novelist with lots to tell. Realism has come to mean Describe Everything, significant or not. You don't have to worry about the *right* detail if you chuck them all in. The novels at hand are all entertaining and readable; they are, however, by men at different stages toward mastery of their craft.

Omnes amorem vincunt. Nicholas Monsarrat, one of the glossiest romancers of the decade, writes in Technicolor. His characters, coming direct from Make-Up, speak pure Steve Canyon, sashay around in sets as posh as any Hollywood ever slicked up to frame a lacquered leading lady and her winsome *cavalier servente,* and act out their arch frivolities with a style that can only be called cool. But for all the taffy, jazz and chrome, the fare is still unabashed melodrama. Our heroine is a rich, beautiful South African, sharp as a tack and cute as a bug's ear. She is also a career girl, all business and no fluff, until there comes along a boyish genius who has a social conscience and is writing a book about South Africa.

WELL NOW, we are supposed not to suspect that this self-satisfied filly who's due to inherit a gold mine and diamond farm could possibly fall in love with the unpressed smarty pants but, bless my soul, *amor vincit omnia,* and she *does.* Well, they fornicate all over the Rand (fornication being the glossy novelist's tip-off that sincerity has made the scene) and, once the unkempt but frightfully keen writer's book is published and a grand success (it is so wise and generous a book that even South African millionaires read it with admiration), they get married. Golly. Well, things take a turn here. The book falls into the hands of Broadway. Although it is a serious study of racial strife and injustice, dear old Broadway turns it into a musical, a zany laff fest, in fact. Miss Priss, of the *Suidafrikaner Meisterrasse,* has by this time found a social conscience and is appalled by the musical. But he (Good God!) has been corrupted by success and can be found in Florida, drink in one hand, floozie in the other, as grieved about South Africa as the Grand Dragon of Mississippi. The tables, you see, have turned. Well, it's not that awful in the end, for his wife leaves

---

The Pillow Fight, by Nicholas Monsarrat. Wm. Sloane Associates, $5.95

Garden on the Moon, by Pierre Boulle. Vanguard, $4.95

The Woman from Sarajevo, by Ivo Andric. Knopf, $5.95

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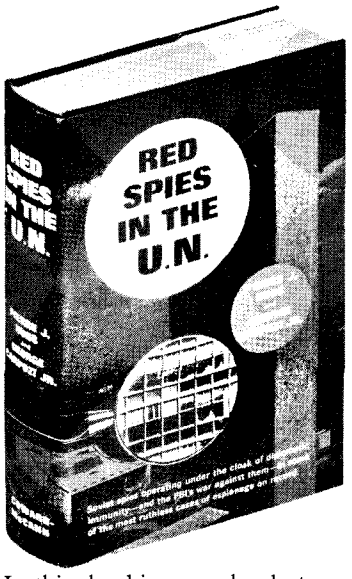

In this shocking new book, two veteran newspapermen (who were given free access to confidential F.B.I. files) expose in full for the first time the incredible espionage activities being carried on against the United States by Russian diplomats at the U.N. — and the F.B.I.'s all-out war against them.

From Coplon and Gubitchev to Butenko and Ivano, RED SPIES IN THE U.N. reveals the fully documented facts behind fifteen ruthless cases of espionage. All of them were masterminded by agents trained at the infamous Soviet School for Spies in Moscow who are now free to operate in America under the cloak of diplomatic immunity.

Says HENRY CABOT LODGE:

"In this book, Mr. Huss and Mr. Carpozi give chapter and verse on instances of attempts by Soviet spies to penetrate official American secrets and thus directly to endanger the security of the United States. . . . I applaud their putting this sinister and unsavory record between two covers."

RED SPIES IN THE U. N.

By Pierre J. Huss and George Carpozi Jr.

Illustrated with photographs
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him and he—you won't believe this—discovers that he *really loves* her, and they kiss and make up. The novel is 404 pages long; if you space it right, you can make it last through four sessions at the beauty parlor.

PIERRE BOULLE, who wrote *The Bridge over the River Kwai,* has concocted in *Garden on the Moon* a satire so close to the bone of current events that its science-fiction gimmick may be an actuality even as I write, or as these words ride through the press, or as you read them. That is, the moon, inspirer of lunatics, may have a Soviet or American or—as M. Boulle imagines—a Japanese rocketeer standing neck-deep in its uniform desert of vacuum-cleaner dust. Several jokes are at work here. "Our Germans are cleverer than your Germans," Russia and the United States can snap at each other, for Peenemünde was the cradle of all the buffs now in the space business.

M. Boulle considers the delicious possibility of a Japanese scientist at Peenemünde. He had worked quietly and, having no problems about the *return* that stymies the American and Russian programs for moon visiting, blasts off on a one-way trip. There he builds a Zen garden in the dust, writes a haiku in the inert dust, paints a water color, and commits the most devastating *sepuku* since Dickens dispersed a villain by spontaneous combustion. He opens his space-suit and atomizes. This is a charming piece of tushery, worth reading for its scenes at Peenemünde and for its deft incorporation of the real into a fantasy that, for all I know, may be history tomorrow morning. Among the characters you will find Adolf Hitler, Jack Kennedy, and Lyndon Johnson, all saying words which, as footnotes attest, they have said.

Ivo Andric is a novelist of a wholly different order from Messrs. Monsarrat and Boulle. He writes within a sense of form and clarity, as they for money. Andric is a Bosnian Serb who was active in the formation of Yugoslavia. His stories of his country's patchwork-quilt nationalities and religions won him the Nobel Prize in 1961. A diplomat, he has served in most of Europe's capitals. As a writer he is spare of detail, swift of plot, sharp of gaze. His world reminds one of old postcards in sepia; his people are bleakly real. *The Woman from Sarajevo* is as melancholy as a Balkan graveyard, but as clear in its drawing of character as Sophocles at his sternest.

The story is of a woman usurer who gets richer with the years, beginning at her father's financial ruin and death when she was a girl. She learns money with a scientific exactitude. She becomes the saint of exchanges; thrift is her chastity; the breeding of interest, her theology. Money is her grace. There are saints in Heaven who spent less time at their devotions than she before her francs, silver, and gold. That she dies in poverty and of poverty is but the rounding out of a truth that any gypsy could have told her, and is the severe beauty of the novel. This is a classic story of purity of devotion. But it happens not to be about anything Godly.

Cuckoo's Egg in the 'Britannica'

ROGER A. FREEMAN

IF A SOVIET encyclopedia misrepresents conditions in the USSR and the U.S.A. for propaganda purposes it only does what we have come to expect. But if a renowned American encyclopedia makes itself the vehicle for derogatory comparisons between the Soviet Union and the United States by use of fictitious claims and false figures, it does great damage. The lead article in the *Encyclopedia Britannica's Book of the Year* for 1965 compares education in the U.S.A. and USSR. Written by William Benton, former U.S. Senator and Assistant Secretary of State and now U.S. Ambassador to UNESCO as well as publisher of the *Encyclopedia Britannica,* it is certain to be extensively quoted by the Soviets to contrast, for the enlightenment of the rest of the world, the "low status" of education in the U.S. with that in the Soviet Union.

William Benton, "The Teachers and the Taught in the USSR," *Britannica Book of the Year, 1965.* Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., $5.95

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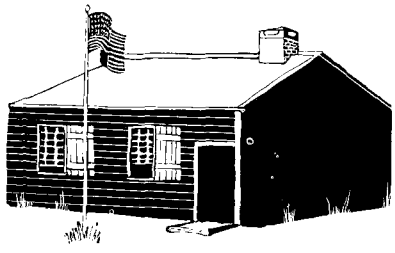
Mr. Benton's "facts" are wrong, both for the U.S. and for the USSR. He writes:

> . . . in the last 35 years we have permitted the proportion of our national income going to education to decline. Between the Civil War and 1929 our expenditures for education increased at a rate four times that of the increase in the gross national product. Between 1929 and 1960 the rate of increase of expenditures for education was less than the rate of increase in the gross national product.

He could have found the actual facts in any of several standard reference



books. For example, the *Digest of Educational Statistics*, 1964 edition, of the U.S. Office of Education, shows in Table 112 that between the school years 1929/30 and 1959/60 gross national product (GNP) in the U.S. increased 362%, educational expenditures 665%. Thus educational outlays, expressed as a percentage of GNP, grew from 3.1% in 1929/30 to 5.1% in 1959/60—and to 5.8% in 1963-64. Over the past 34 years (1929/30 to 1963/64), GNP grew 460%, educational expenditures 942%. If we adjust the totals for the shrinkage in the value of the dollar to less than half, the increases were GNP 172%, educational expenditures 405%. In plain words, funds for education grew at twice the rate of the nation's product and income.

Mr. Benton, however, comparing our educational effort with that of the Soviets, finds it wanting:

> Thus the present phase of education in the Soviet Union is a clear challenge to our U.S. system. In the future this will be even more manifestly true. Senator Fulbright predicted succinctly the implications of the educational competition in his remarks on the Senate floor, on Dec. 10, 1963:
>
> "I was interested in hearing this morning that our competitors and antagonists, the Russians, are spending almost twice as much of their gross national product on education as this country is. I predict that history will show that it is in this area that the real struggle will be determined."

If our Ambassador to UNESCO needs information on relative spending on education, why does he not turn to UNESCO's own *International Yearbook on Education*? The 1963 edition (the most recent here available) reported that the United States spent a *greater* share of is national product on public education than the Soviet Union. Should it not be the encyclopedia that supplies data to the politician rather than the other way around? Why does it not provide its readers with data from an established reference source, citing chapter and verse? Possibly because a hearsay statement by a U.S. Senator might not be considered sufficient evidence for a world-famous encyclopedia, Mr. Benton cites a U.S. Congressman, John Brademas of Indiana:

> One of the eye-opening passages in the recent House of Representatives Committee report on education in the Soviet Union appears in the preface signed by Congressman Brademas. He says:
>
> "Today, education represents a national expenditure of about $30 billion, which (in the U.S.) is only about 5 per cent of our gross national product. According to the October 1963 issue of the magazine *USSR*, the Soviet Union regards education so highly that in 1963 it spent 13.8 billion rubles on education, or about 16 per cent of all budgetary expenditures. It would, of course, be misleading to compare a per cent of the U.S. gross national product with a per cent of the total Soviet budgetary expenditures."

According to the Office of Education, the U.S. devoted to education about 5% of its GNP back in 1959; the most recent figure, for 1963/64, is 5.8%. What is the corresponding total for the USSR? The percentage of the Soviet budget which Mr. Brademas mentions is obviously meaningless, as he admits. The amount of 13.8 billion rubles ($15.3 billion) in the Soviet budget is for "enlightenment, training of cadres, science, and culture." About 4.7 billion rubles of that is what we call "research and development" and, in the U.S. budget, is included largely under the Department of Defense, Atomic Energy Commission, NASA, etc. Other large shares of the 13.8 billion rubles go to the press, radio stations, libraries, museums, youth centers and summer camps. By a generous estimate, education in our meaning of the term gets about 9 billion rubles ($10 billion). This

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compares with $34 billion in the U.S.

The Soviet Union's GNP was placed at $256.3 billion, or 46.3% of the corresponding U.S. total (1962) in the *Annual Economic Indicators for USSR* (1964) prepared for the Joint Economic Committee of Congress. On

that basis the Soviet Government spent about 3.7% of the GNP on education. This admittedly does not include unspecified local contributions by industrial enterprises, trade unions and collective farms, which would raise the total to over 4%, and possibly as high as 5% of GNP. The comparable figure for the U.S. is 5.8%—not much of a lead for us but a far cry from the shameful neglect implied by Mr. Benton.

Possibly the most damaging part of Mr. Brademas' statement (as cited by Mr. Benton) is: "What is significant is that the Soviet Union in 1963 spent approximately the same amount on education as on defense (13.888 billion rubles)." Anybody who has studied the budget procedures of the Soviets knows that they hide much of their defense expenditures under budget titles (including education) so as to make their military outlays appear smaller than they are. Some of Mr. Benton's other "facts" are no less misleading. He repeats the old and discredited claim that teaching is poorly paid in the United States while teachers in the Soviet Union "have been extraordinarily well paid." He adds, "The Supreme Soviet recently adopted a law, according to *Izvestia*, increasing salaries of elementary and secondary school teachers an average of 25% in 1964 and 1965." He wisely does not reveal the size of Russian teachers' salaries. Mr. Khrushchev announced details of the new wage scales at the USSR Supreme Soviet session on July 13, 1964. For example, a teacher with a higher education and five to ten years' service used to get a monthly salary of $63 to $79 in rural schools and of $70 to $84 in urban schools. Her new monthly salary: $100 per month. The new maximum for ten to 25-year teachers is $111.

In the U.S. the public school

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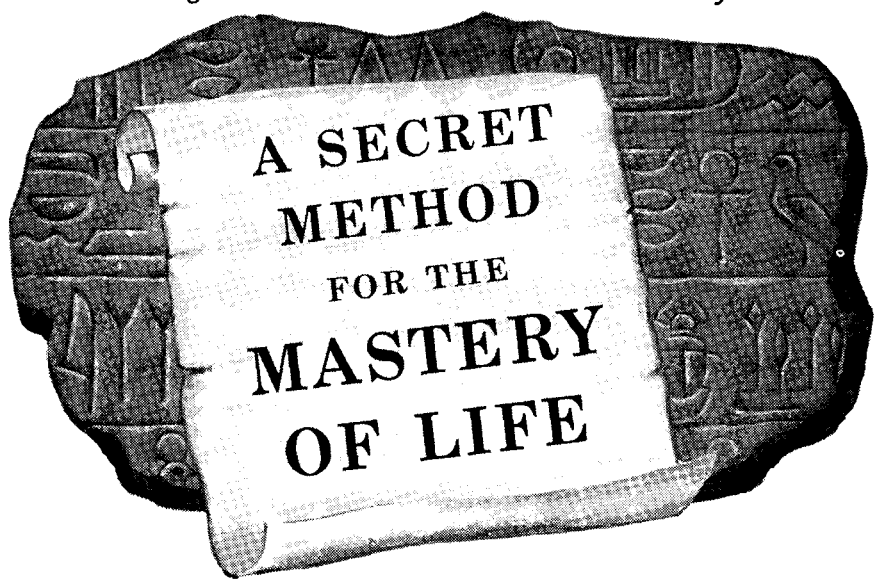
teachers' salary now averages $520 per month, with the annual maximum in some districts exceeding $10,000. The fact is, as Nicholas deWitt pointed out in a study of Soviet education prepared for the National Science Foundation—the most comprehensive study to appear in English—that teaching is the most poorly paid profession in the USSR; and that teachers earn less than manual workers or, at best, about the same. The ratio between American and Russian pay scales averages about 4:1 for manual workers, 5:1 for school teachers. Mr. Benton goes on to note the enviable position of university teachers in the Soviet Union. In this area he is on somewhat safer ground because a full professor in the Soviet Union is relatively well paid —$500 to $555 a month, even more for members of the Soviet Academy of Science. But only about 5% of the faculties are professors. The overwhelming majority of university teaching personnel fall into two categories of assistants (instructors), who were paid (in 1964) from $116 to $155 and from $155 to $200 per month respectively. A "dotsent" (associate professor) got $311 to $355.

MR. BENTON'S information, as he makes amply clear, came straight from top Soviet officials, including Chairman Khrushchev, all of whom dealt with him as one VIP with another. When I visited the Soviet Union—at about the same time as Mr. Benton—I saw no top officials. Instead, I visited schools, universities, institutes, and factories from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Siberia to the Soviet colonies in Central Asia. I noted, for example, as Mr. Benton apparently did not, that in the schools of Soviet Central Asia the Russian (European) children are strictly segregated from the "natives," the Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Tajikhs, Uzbeks, etc. There is no mixing anywhere. That fact is not mentioned in the Soviet literature, but it is evident in many of the photographs I took in "Russian" schools and "native"

Knowledge That Has Endured With The Pyramids



WHENCE came the knowledge that built the Pyramids and the mighty Temples of the Pharaohs? Civilization began in the Nile Valley centuries ago. Where did its first builders acquire their astounding wisdom that started man on his upward climb? Beginning with naught they overcame nature's forces and gave the world its first sciences and arts. Did their knowledge come from a race now submerged beneath the sea, or were they touched with Infinite inspiration? From what concealed source came the wisdom that produced such characters as Amenhotep IV, Leonardo da Vinci, Isaac Newton, and a host of others?

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schools. This may have been the reason the Soviets tried to destroy my film by x-raying my luggage; they would have succeeded if the film had not been contained in a magnesium suitcase which blocked much of the radiation. Mr. Benton's photos were not so treated. His profusely illustrated article suggests that he let his Soviet hosts do his picture-taking as well as his homework. That made the job so much easier for everybody concerned except for the reader who wants to get his facts straight.

Movies in Brief

RICHARD M. HODGENS

In Harm's Way. There is nothing seriously wrong with producer-director Otto Preminger's latest filmed novel, except that it is two hours and forty-five minutes long and seems a little longer. It is also true that the models of Japanese and American ships are too obvious, but Preminger is more interested—too interested—in his huge cast, anyway. He has included one "new face—and body." (She opens the film, misbehaving at Pearl Harbor, but the morning after is 7 December 1941, and that's the end of that.) But almost every other face is familiar. The exemplary hero is John Wayne, an admiral named Rock. His intra-service conflict and his Operation Skyhook are successful, and Patricia Neal is waiting for him at the end. Meanwhile, Brandon De Wilde, playing his son, grows up unconvincingly (De Wilde's specialty), but dies at sea. Other minor characters are more interesting, but there are too many of them. Nothing new, but a very smooth piece of film-making. For some reason, portentous titles that seem designed to suggest a cosmic significance close the film.

Operation Crossbow. First, one of those drastically simplified histories: the Germans develop the V-1 and V-2; the English find out, and bomb Peenemünde. Then, a wild, melodramatic elaboration: secret agent George Peppard impersonates an Axis engineer and meets Sophia Loren, but manages to get on with it, into the Germans' secret underground factory; he takes over the power house and opens the hangar and signals the RAF just as the New York rocket is launched . . . . (Actually, they did *plan* a rocket that might have made it.) *Blam!* Then Churchill makes another speech. The combination of fact and fiction creates the usual strain. Near the end, Peppard asks, "What are you using?" And the German scientist replies, "Alcohol and liquid oxygen." "Alcohol and liquid oxygen," says Peppard, obviously memorizing the secret formula. Director Michael Anderson has done this sort of thing before, and handles it well; his cast is as notable as Preminger's, and he is particularly good with the gadgets and models when the script allows.

Nobody Waved Goodbye. A Canadian youth (Peter Kastner) rejects the affluent society, but is corrupted by it anyway. By the time he expresses his contempt for *Cleopatra,* we already know what we're in for: characters too tiresome to be real, viewed in a manner too clumsy to really be what they call *cinéma vérité.* Nevertheless, the characterization develops enough complexity to be interesting and the style at length comes up with a few good effects. Like *Cleopatra,* it is rather dull, and you have to be just as affluent to see it, but it also has its moments and it is pleasant to see a film about juvenile delinquency that is neither melodrama nor propaganda—not that it doesn't make a few Liberal gestures, just like *Cleopatra.* The film was partly improvised, and looks it. Whatever writing and directing may have been called for is by Don Owen. The

National Film Board of Canada financed the production.

Random

● Books Ahead: *Letters of Ford Madox Ford* is due from Princeton in August. . . . Dwight Macdonald's very own critique of the Warren Report, *The Ghost of Conspiracy,* will be published by Prentice-Hall in June. . . . Finis Farr, the arch-biographer, is hard at work on *Margaret Mitchell of Atlanta* (Morrow, October). . . . Conor Cruise O'Brien's newest book, coming from Pantheon in June, is *Writers and Politics.* Seems he was really just an essayist and critic all along. . . . A lady named Tommy Whitehead has written a biography of her husband entitled *The Beard and I.* Yes, he's Commr. G. Who (McKay, August 20).

● Cheap Reprints: The better half of the Kinsey Report will be reissued as a $1.65 Pocket Book in November. . . . A New York firm's reprint of two ancient Chinese texts, the *Ssu-pu-ts'ung-k'an* and the *Po-na-pen,* will retail for a trifling $3000 (for 250 volumes).

● Davy Crockett, Won't You Please Come Home? On sale or soon to be are "007" toiletries, pajamas, shirts, sweaters, trench coats with secret pockets, trick attaché cases, exploding code books, fountain pens and cigarette lighters, model Astons-Martin, board games, carbonated mixers, whiskey, and so on. Meanwhile, undismayed, two *Sunday Times*

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Notes

men who knew Ian Fleming well are preparing his biography for London publisher Jonathan Cape. No American publisher yet.

● Movies Ahead: *The Symphony Orchestra,* British cartoon based on the works of the late Gerard Hoffnung, won a Diploma of Merit at Vienna's Festival of Gaiety. Five more Hoffnung items are in the works, as well as a full-length cartoon version of Gilbert and Sullivan's *Ruddigore.* . . . Norman Juster's warming, offbeat little book, *The Dot and the Line,* will be made into a cartoon by MGM. . . . Independent producer Joseph G. Bresch hopes to start shooting William Bradford Huie's *Three Lives for Mississippi* this summer. . . . Four Man Ray classics from the twenties will be distributed to art houses come Fall. . . Elvis Presley will star in Edward Small's *Frankie and Johnny.*

● Questionable Taste: John Huston's film, originally called *Freud,* is being re-released as *Secret Passion.* . . . A Brazilian product entitled *Engracadinha—Her Loves and Sins from Her Twelfth to Eighteenth Year* will be distributed up here as *Lollipop.*

● Reassuring Declaration of the Fortnight: "I have not and will not play the electric guitar."

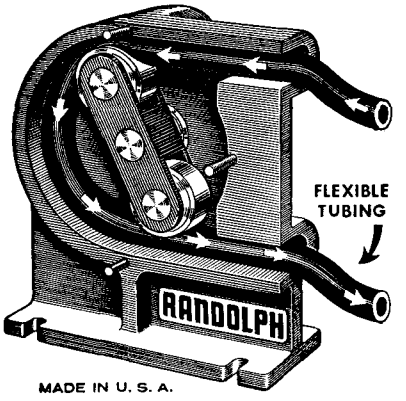
—*A. Segovia*

The Pawnbroker. Past and present misery, directed by Sidney Lumet with obtrusive, excruciating, stupefying deliberateness. Sol Nazerman (Rod Steiger) thought he had forgotten the concentration camp, but Harlem gives him flashbacks; he tries to suppress all feeling and care only for money, but it doesn't work. His pawnshop, like his cruel emotionlessness, is a front; he can turn it into charity whenever he wishes. It is possible, but not clear, that the violent death of his assistant (Jaime Sanchez) gives him catharsis at last. If this is a Morality, it is objectionable, and I would expect any audience to suppress all feeling by this point, but the art-house crowd seems to get something out of it. Lumet's style is full of effects, but if there is anything effective or original here, I am sorry I missed it. Like his other films, however, *The Pawnbroker* is notable for its acting, which is extraordinarily intense and contributes to the total, numbing effect, but is admirable in itself. Sanchez and Steiger are perfect.

Tomb of Ligeia. Producer-director Roger Corman has turned out a fantastic number of horrific films for the shrinking audience that does not much care what it is, so long as it moves. This time it is hard to tell what it is (though it does bear a certain resemblance to Poe), but it moves compellingly for all of its eighty minutes. Verden Fell (Vincent Price, as usual) apparently buries his wife Ligeia (Elizabeth Shepherd) before the titles, but she will not stay put; neither, by the end, will his second wife, Rowena (Miss Shepherd again). There is no real explanation; it is a real nightmare. Faintly ridiculous, finally repellent.

The Train. Another World War II Operation, as a German art lover (Paul Scofield) attempts to loot the glorious national heritage of France —that is, a trainload of Impressionism and Post-Impressionism—and the Resistance (especially Burt Lancaster) attempts to stop him, at great cost, for some reason. The film keeps asking if it's worth the effort. Lancaster asks himself; he meets Jeanne Moreau, and she asks him, too; but the point seems to be the pointlessness of it all. As a thriller and as personal conflict ("He'll stay near the train; I am beginning to know him"), the film has too much inadvertent comic relief, but it does have real trains, viewed from every angle in some detail, with real collisions and derailments. The fine special effects are by Lee Zavits. John Frankenheimer directed.

The Pump That *Never* Gets Wet



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Speaking Up . . .

L. Brent Bozell, author of the forthcoming analysis of the U. S. Supreme Court entitled "The Warren Court: A Dissenting Opinion", will be touring the West in January of next year. Mr. Bozell is available for speaking engagements and debates on "The Power of the States vs. the Power of the Federal Government" and "Current U. S. Policy in Africa."

Now is the time to think about scheduling our other speakers around the country for the upcoming fall and winter season. By making your reservations early, you will lower your cost due to the savings effected by pre-arranging travel schedules.

Write to Catherine Babcock for details on open dates for:

Dr. Thomas Molnar, author of "The Failure of the Counter-Revolution", Dr. Russell Kirk, author of "Fulminations of a Nocturnal Bookman", William A. Rusher, publisher of National Review; Frank S. Meyer, editor of NR and of "What Is Conservatism?"; Dr. Anthony T. Bouscaren, professor and author.

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BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE JOHNSON TREATMENT, by Jack Bell (Harper, $4.95). The subtitle, which was composed by Mrs. Johnson, is as follows: "How Lyndon B. Johnson Took Over the Presidency and Made It His Own." Isn't that folksy? Poor Mr. Bell, worn down perhaps by three decades of Washington reporting, has forgotten How Lyndon B. Johnson Took Over Precinct 13 in Alice, Texas, and Made It Shape Up. Mr. Bell tolerates Bobby Baker, Walter Jenkins, Billie Sol Estes, and the Johnson wealth. The things are touched upon—delicately and uncomprehendingly. If one does not watch one's step, one feels sorry for virtuous Mr. Johnson whose stewards have departed from the ways of virtue. And The Treatment! Would you believe it, The Treatment is a product of Johnson's vast historical erudition, personal magnetism, congressional experience, psychological insight, and intellectual power. One would think that thirty years in Washington would have prepared a reporter for the task of mentioning that it also helps if you know who has been sleeping with whom at the Carousel and who has been taking money from Trujillo and other patriots. Psychological insight! Johnson is Tammany writ large. Sooner we know it, the better. I have the feeling that Mr. Bell has written one per cent of what he knows. If he bequeaths the 99 per cent to the Kennedy Library in Cambridge, I feel sure it will enjoy ready publication. Teddy and Bobby are known for their devotion to History.

W. F. BUCKLEY

TAKEN CARE OF, by Edith Sitwell (Atheneum, $5.95). Needless to say, it's superb. From her description of a magnificently miserable childhood in the great English tradition to her calm closing expectation of the coming day when "all will be over, bar the shouting and the worms," Dame Edith told it all the way it seemed to her—which is perhaps the only way to hear it worth the listening. Her autobiography is a pleasure-garden laden with such dainties as a meeting with Marilyn Monroe ("I cannot imagine anyone who knew her trying to take a liberty with her"); recollections of Dylan Thomas, Roy Campbell, Paul Tchelitchew and other divine madmen; bemused peepings into the circular literary world of London in the twenties; and animadversions upon the intrusions of a shabby age. As promised in her preface, she is sharp with D. H. Lawrence (who "looked like a plaster gnome on a stone toadstool in some suburban garden"), Percy Wyndham Lewis, and various parasite nobodies. The occasional digressions on her approach to her craft and on the fallen state of modern criticism are models of lucidity. *Taken Care Of* recalls a life lived with discriminating gusto, and seen in the unique Sitwell through-stained-glass-clearly fashion it is an unrelieved pleasure, and it is too brief. Photographs.

C. H. SIMONDS

FREEDOM UNDER LINCOLN, by Dean Sprague (Houghton Mifflin, $5.95). Mr. Sprague is a courageous man. He has dared to pierce the myth of Abraham Lincoln's benevolence and examine the realities of an authoritarianism that was, in terms of civil liberties, the most ruthless in American history. His detailed recital of the naked use of federal power against individual citizens, as well as against the press, throughout the North might be entitled "Repression Under Lincoln." The record as he sets it down speaks for itself; it is little mitigated by the feeble excuses he makes for Lincoln in his last chapter entitled, with an irony that is apparently unconscious, "Lincoln, The Humanitarian."

F. S. MEYER

RED JANUARY, by William Chamberlain (Paperback Library, $.50). Have you been waiting for a book that packs more punch and is infinitely more credible than *Seven Days in May* and *Fail-Safe* combined, *and* jabs the Liberals for a change? From a coded message, an admiral high in Naval Operations learns that Castro's puppet

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successor, armed with Soviet ICBM's, is ready to deliver an ultimatum to the incoming U.S. President minutes after the inauguration in 1969, only one hundred hours away. What follows is a logical, no-nonsense narrative of how a few admirals and generals persuade the President-elect, before he has the authority of a mailman, to remove the missile threat with a few thousand officers and men known as Thor Force. Written in a casual style by a retired general (not the William Henry Chamberlain of *Wall Street Journal* fame), the book reads like the scenario of a movie—one worth seeing unless Stanley Kramer or Otto Preminger had the chance to emasculate it. The action ranges from the Thor Force base in New Mexico to Washington, and on to Cuba, where the climactic battle rages in the San Esteban caverns. Graphic description of vertical envelopment techniques using Buck Rogers hardware — both already upon us—paints a vivid picture of the action.

D. B. DUVAL

THE CAUSE IS MANKIND, by Hubert H. Humphrey (Praeger, $4.95). The Liberal mind seems to have a genuine problem with semantics, especially when it comes to the word *freedom*. Even an articulate, intelligent writer of Senator Humphrey's caliber apparently lacks the ability to differentiate *freedom* and *security* or *happiness*. The Senator feels that if government provides better jobs, removes the psychological entrapments of prejudice and dogma, or insures wholesome leisure activities for each citizen, personal freedom is being extended. In the name of mankind Humphrey proposes a complete Liberal program to solve the problems of the world. It includes measures from the establishment of a welfare society ("a twentieth-century version of the society conceived of by our founding fathers") to the formation of an international police force under the United Nations. No book on mankind would be complete without a discussion of the threat of right-wing extremism, presented here in the section on mental illness.

R. A. ROTH

Fourteen-B

(Continued from p. 502)

ably the Iowa delegation in Washington will catch the signal from the back-home folks.

Just prior to the opening of House subcommittee hearings on 14(b) a poll of the House of Representatives showed 201 against repeal, 176 for it, and 59 doubtful. The count in the Senate was 42 against repeal, 45 for it, and thirteen doubtful. With skilled parliamentary leadership backed by a rolling and reverberating expression of opinion from the country, 14(b) might be turned into the 1965 version of Franklin D. Roosevelt's court-packing plan of 1937. But in 1937 there were Burton Wheelers and Bill Borahs in the U.S. Senate. Maybe there are some legislators of this independent caliber still around on Capitol Hill. But if they are there, it remains to be seen who they are. Maybe Senator McClellan of Arkansas will prove to be the man on the white horse. He, more than many of his colleagues, knows that compulsory unionism can give an unconscionable power to racketeers as well as to honest men.

If you listen to Liberal columnists such as Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, you know the battle to retain 14(b) is lost. "The only hope for Republicans," so Evans and Novak say, "lies in the future—after repeal." But — who knows? — maybe Democrats will save the day. It was so at the time of the court-pack fight of 1937, and if the country would only get up on its hind legs and yell it could happen all over again.

●

SOLUTION TO LAST ISSUE'S TRANS-O-GRAM (June 1)

Alexander Hamilton

[THE] FEDERALIST

The aim of every political constitution is, or ought to be, first to obtain for rulers men who possess most wisdom to discern, and most virtue to pursue, the common good of society; and in the next place, to take the most effectual precautions for keeping them virtuous.

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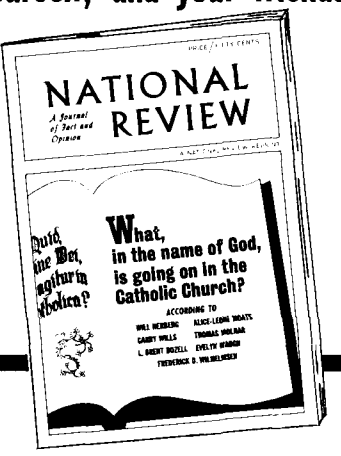

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WHO IS ACCOMMODATING TO WHAT?
L. Brent Bozell

A GRAMMAR OF THE DIALOGUE
Frederick D. Wihelmsen

. . . and three more big articles that first appeared in NR *(May 4, 1965)*.

■

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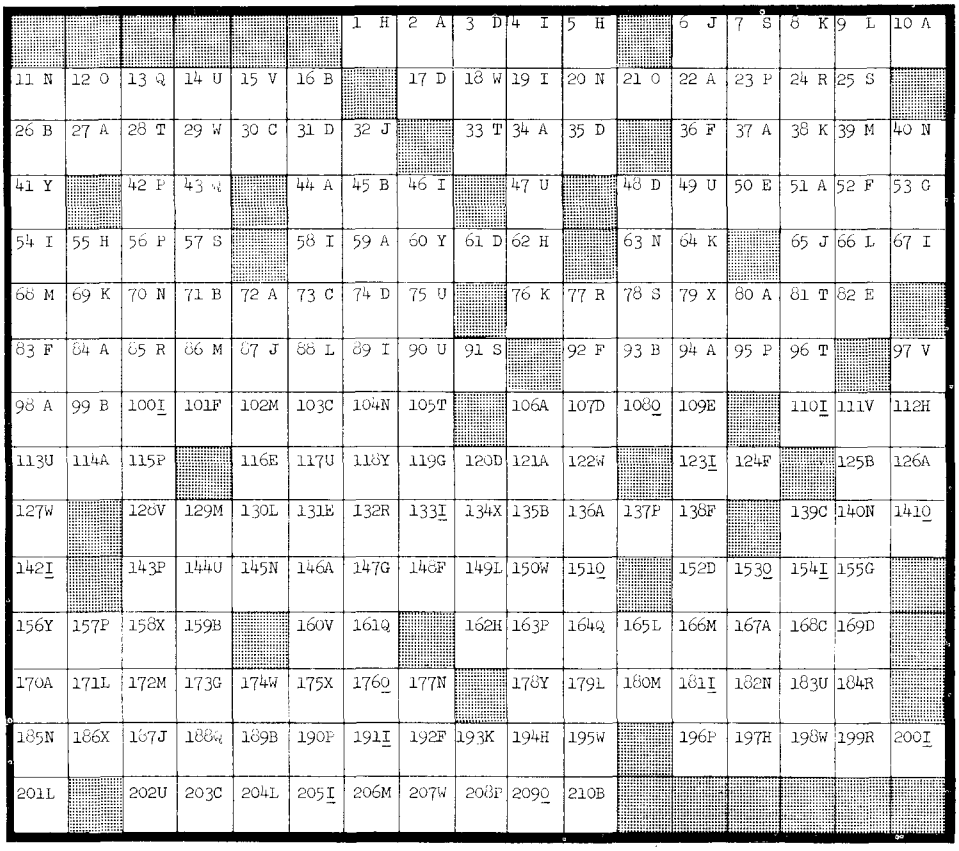
TRANS-O-GRAM

by Svend Petersen

DEFINITIONS	WORDS
A. Poem by Lanier (4 wds.)	22 2 44 10 94 84 98 106 114 167 27
	37 72 80 121 126 136 146 170 34 51 59
B. Poem by Bryant	26 93 71 16 99 125 45 189 159 135 210
C. Religious ceremonial	103 73 139 30 168 203
D. Poem by Masters (2 wds.)	107 61 74 3 120 152 169 35 48 31 17
E. What Senate did to House funds bill	116 50 131 109 82
F. Poem by Whittier	138 52 83 92 36 124 192 148 101
G. Small military group	155 119 147 173 53
H. Poem by Joaquin Miller	162 112 5 197 1 55 194 62
I. Poem by Whitman (4 wds.)	181 191 89 110 123 133 154 200 58 142 205
	4 19 46 54 67 100
J. A recess in a wall	187 6 87 32 65
K. Balked	64 193 69 38 76 8
L. Conforming to recognized principles	66 179 201 9 149 88 130 171 165 204

DEFINITIONS	WORDS
M. To involve	86 68 172 39 166 180 102 206 129
N. Poem by Emerson (? wds.)	145 63 11 185 40 20 104 140 177 182 70
O. Poem by Poe (2 wds.)	176 153 21 151 12 108 141 209
P. Poem by Holmes (2 wds.)	208 56 196 42 163 157 137 23 190 115 143
	95
Q. Clenched hands	161 164 43 13 188
R. Pronoun	199 132 184 24 77 85
S. Lacks	7 57 78 25 91
T. Poem by Kilmer	33 28 81 96 105
U. Poem by Longfellow (lengthy)	49 113 47 117 75 183 90 14 144 202
V. Cheers for	111 160 15 128 97
W. Poem by Longfellow (short)	127 18 174 150 122 195 207 29 198
X. A disciple of Zeno's	158 134 186 175 79
Y. Article of furniture	41 60 178 156 118

See page 521 for solution of last issue's Trans-O-Gram.



DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black lines indicating the end of a word); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of Webster's New International Dictionary, Second Edition.

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For The Record

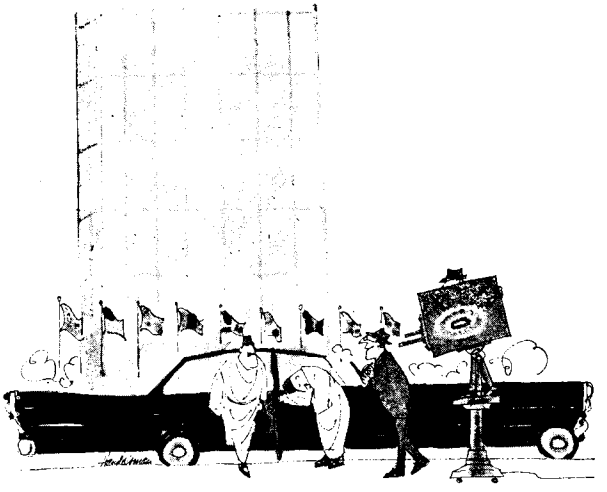
Undiplomatically yours: When Russia officially protested the sending of an Australian battalion to South Vietnam, Melbourne snapped back: If you really want peace we suggest you address yourself to Hanoi and Peking. . . . South Korean paper "Chosun Ilbo" reports Pres. Park is thinking of sending 25,000 troops to Vietnam. . . . Hong Kong sources say Peking is now headquartering official missions of the "Palestine Liberation Organization," the "Thai Patriotic Front," the "Thai Independence Movement," and the "South Vietnam National Liberation Front." . . . At least 50 of the Communists involved in initial Santo Domingo uprising were trained at a Czech insurgency school near Prague, which goes under cover name of State College for International Studies. (First graduates of school, which has been in operation for fifteen years, showed up in Guatemala during Arbenz fling in 1953.)

Democratic leadership in House letting it be known to Adam Clayton Powell Jr. that if he really is contemplating supporting John Lindsay this summer (as has been hinted), he'd better watch out. They'd like an excuse to strip him of chairmanship of vital House Labor and Education Committee. . . . Precedent for such action was set when House Democrats deprived John Bell Williams (Miss.) and Albert Watson (S.C.) of seniority for supporting Barry Goldwater last year.

Fancy that: John Thompson, who caused such a ruckus in April at Berkeley with his Filthy Speech Movement, back in the spotlight a couple of weeks later. He was arrested in Berkeley and booked on charges of stealing groceries. . . . Behind-the-scenes struggle reported at U. of California to force out Pres. Clark Kerr (who resigned and un-resigned last winter) and replace him with former CIA head John McCone.

Hamburg firm, the Institute of East Bloc Market Research, now advertising in this country for clients interested in doing business with satellites. . . . Excellent catalogue of Communist imports to the U.S. has been compiled by American Legion Post #124 (Miami Shores 53, Fla.) . . . Atomic Energy Commission has authorized the export of small quantities of radioisotopes to Czechoslovakia, East Germany. . . . Assembly of Captive Nations has awarded 10th anniversary commemorative medal to NR editor James Burnham "in recognition of outstanding services for cause of freedom in East-Central Europe."

Much publicized early February Buckley-Baldwin debate at Cambridge Union (Resolved: That the American dream is at the expense of the American Negro) will be run on Channel 13-NY, June 14, at 9 P.M. (B&B gluttons can also watch them have at it on David Susskind's "Open End," June 13.)



Punch Ben Roth Agency

"I believe, sir, you're from one of the 'have not' nations."

In last week's South Vietnamese election of provincial and municipal councilors there were no runoffs: in cases of ties, the older candidate was declared the winner.

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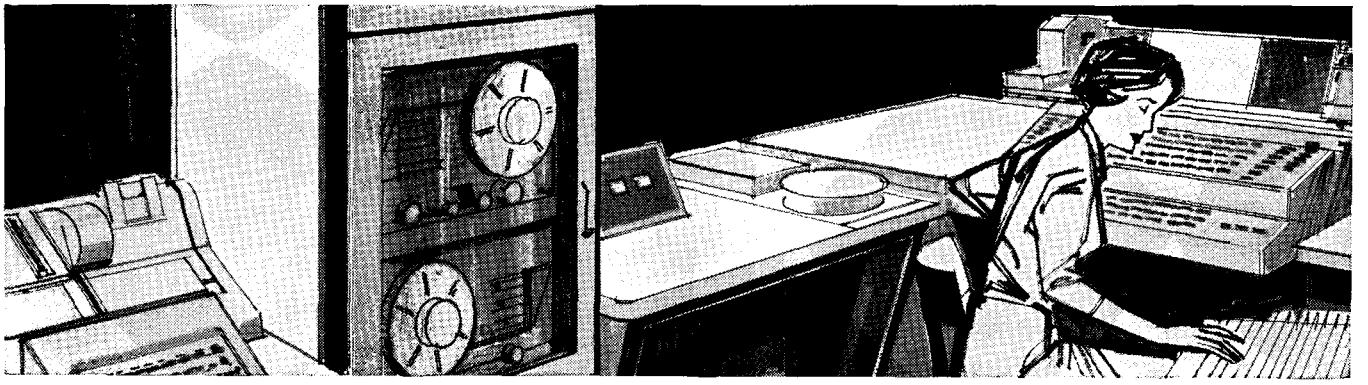

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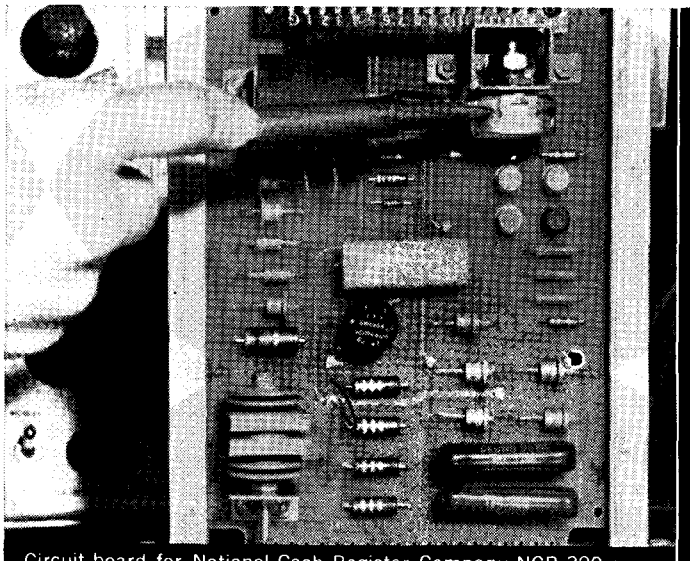
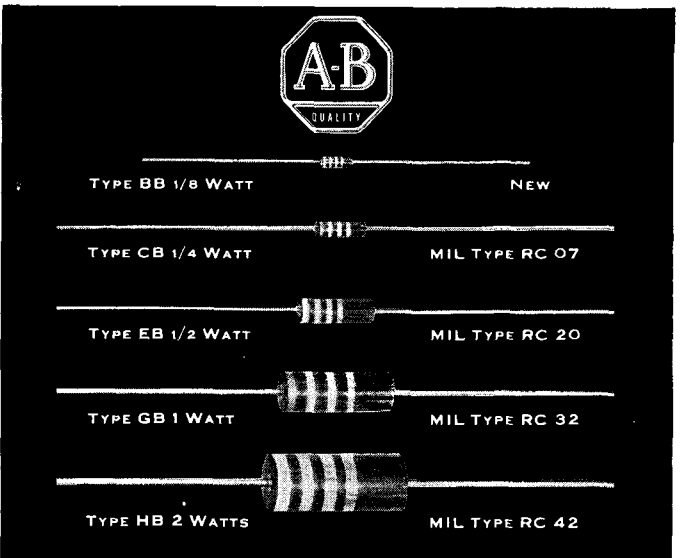


Circuit board for National Cash Register Company NCR 390 computer showing use of Allen-Bradley Type J hot molded variable resistor and several A-B hot molded fixed resistors.



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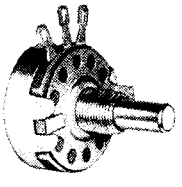

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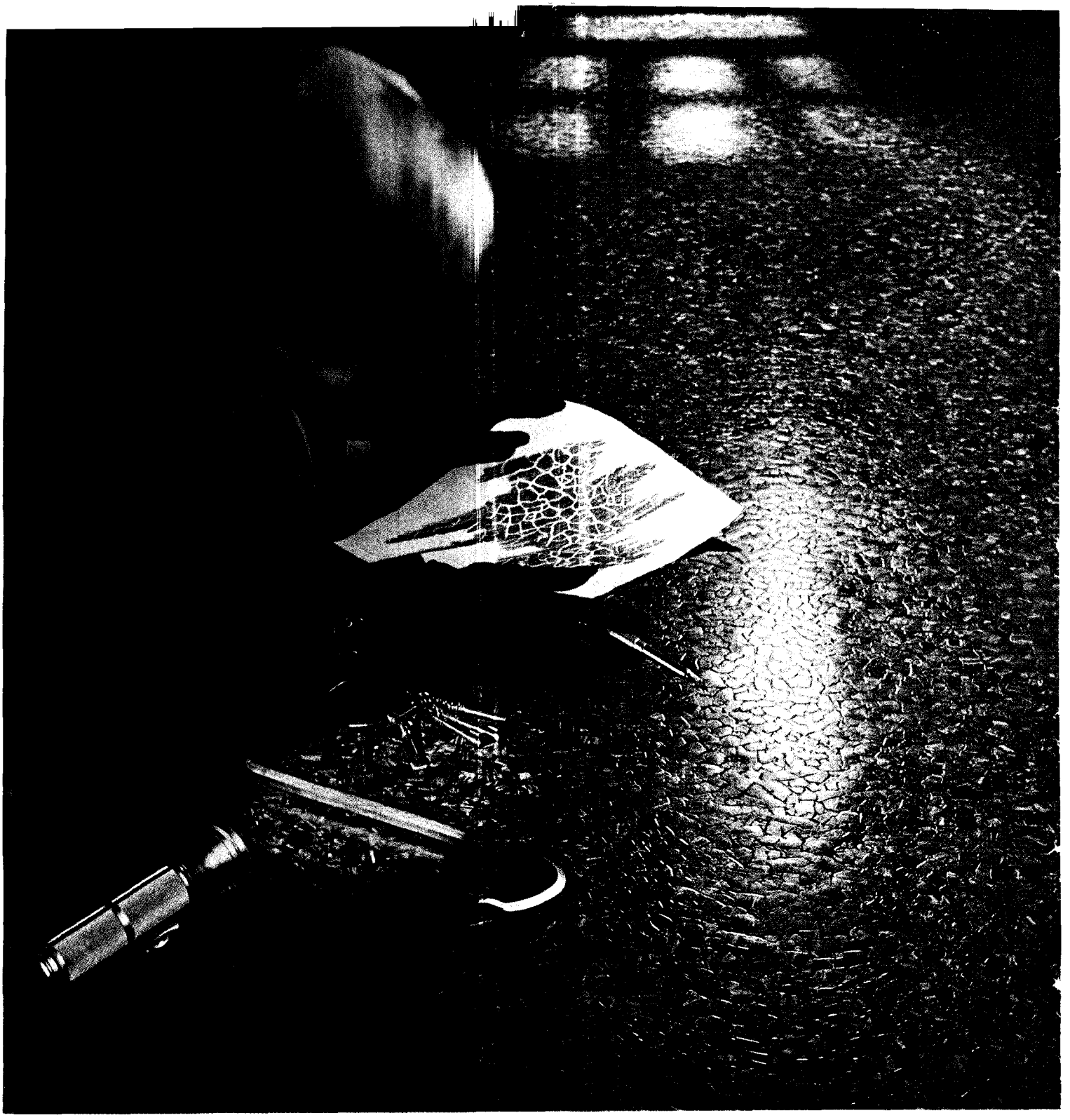

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